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Spring • 1948

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VOLUME 17 *Spring 1948* NUMBER 2

The Editorial Board of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *takes great pleasure in announcing the election to its membership of Walton H. Hamilton and Reinhold Niebuhr.*

Why Amend the Golden Rule?

EUROPEAN cultures were not seriously disturbed by the devastating American Civil War. America's contribution to an advancing civilization was not noticeably affected by the Crimean or the Franco-Prussian conflicts. But the War of All Nations, the War of the World's Social Adjustment, with its two maxima, one around 1918 and the other in the early 1940's, has put a nervous hesitation in the progress of humanity. Our major problem is how to resolve without disaster this still continuing unbalance of the world's social equilibrium. Apparently we must be willing to make great sacrifice of money, pride and prejudices. Otherwise there will be a dim future for those who think they are moving up and forward.

Recognizing the situation, many are seeking in a rather bewildered way to establish throughout the world a foundation that is even deeper for us than the basic laws of life and matter. They seek to establish the international harmony that is now necessary for the prolongation of civilization.

The solution does not lie in domestic politics, nor in prestige juggling among the United Nations. It lies somewhere deep in the mysteries of human nature and social behavior. Perhaps we should establish a great international research institution of social relations; but the time is running short for cautious and deliberate activities by analyst and scholar. Regretfully we note that religion has failed us in this crisis, not at all because of its content and intent, but largely because of its credal diversity. Even the Golden Rule, that basic law of amicable human relations, is made ineffective by amendments. It would be useless to suggest, I suppose, that every letterhead used at

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Lake Success have the Golden Rule printed across the top. And the committee that plans the new buildings for the United Nations would probably find that an inscription over the main entrance such as: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," is too long. Shorter ones would fit better, like: "Get rich, then be generous"; or: "God's on our side"; or: "*My* country, 'tis of thee."

It is the selfishness of the amendments to the Golden Rule that curse international relations. The amendments are brutal and blind, and humanly unnatural. Love of family and of friends breeds into the individual a natural human generosity, that propaganda cannot wholly erase—a willingness, in a pleasant social order, to live by decent rules, to compete and contest with sportsmanship and toleration. It is the super-heated nationalism, the cancerous greed of political and financial groups, that forces the amendments to the Golden Rule.

We need some vetoes—administered by common sense and altruism—vetoes of the crippling amendments. But we do not get them. We have not discovered the way to apply such vetoes. Instead, we run down the selfish grooves that have habitually led to disaster. In rotund language, the inflated diplomat declares: "We endorse the Golden Rule, as an international policy, to be operable immediately upon the attainment of our National Aspirations and the recognition of our Manifest Destiny." Evil phrases are National Aspirations and Manifest Destiny. They have cost many nations their characters or even their lives. The less diplomatic interpreter puts it: "First an assurance of our world markets; or first the protection of our Western borders (or Eastern, or Northern, or Southern, or subterranean, or atmospheric—or any excuse that keeps our military men glamorous, and our great army and navy objects of fearsome respect); or first an amendment that recognizes the established rights of social snobbery—then we are quite ready to live by the Golden Rule. By all means the Golden Rule. But first let's straighten out what *we* call injustices. Let's start with generosity and international ethics on our own terms." Thus the honest interpreter.

The two problems are distinct, but related. We must achieve international harmony; we must achieve social adjustment—but without endangering human freedom. Only by solving *the two*, can we bring back the world's equilibrium.

Harlow Shapley

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In Defense of American Activities

Walter Gellhorn

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities is the direct descendant and inheritor of the tradition of the similarly named committee first formed ten years ago under the chairmanship of Martin Dies. Its creator, the House of Representatives, has authorized it to investigate "un-American propaganda activities," "subversive" and "un-American" propaganda, and propaganda which "attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution."

The Committee itself has never undertaken to define these terms or to catalogue activities which it might deem to be un-American. In one of its recent reports, however, the Committee asserted power "to explore and expose activities by un-American individuals and organizations which, while sometimes being legal, are nonetheless inimical to our American concepts and our American future. . . ." Obviously, this says little more than that the Committee regards as "un-American" any activities or opinions with which it violently disagrees. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that men who have dared object to the Committee or its methods have on that account been characterized by it as suspect, that opposition to the Spanish government of Generalissimo Franco has been investigated as though it were an un-American activity, and that recognition of "the existence of a God and the all-important fact that the rights of man are derived from God" has been advanced as a test of "Americanism."

The Committee's more ambitious exposés, such as its recent disclosure that Hollywood is a hotbed of Communism, have been well publicized. Persons who are interested in the matter will have been

•Professor of law and member of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, WALTER GELLHORN serves on the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

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able to form an opinion as to whether the Committee's exertions in these instances have significantly advanced the cause of democracy. Somewhat unfortunately, the newspaper interest in the Hollywood inquiry has obscured other aspects of the Committee's work. Public attention has been largely focused on a single issue, whether a person should be compelled to answer an inquiry into his Communist partisanship. That issue is one concerning which reasonable men of good will sharply disagree. It will not be discussed here. The present article does not deal with the recent exclamatory expeditions against the motion picture literati. It is chiefly concerned, rather, with the Committee's perhaps more subtly manifested interest in the country's intellectual processes. One of its most influential members, Representative Rankin of Mississippi, has promised that the Committee will soon turn its energies to rooting out "subversive" activities in American universities. It may be useful, therefore, to consider the Committee's methods and attitudes in connection with educators and scholars.

One of the Committee's latest publications may be taken as generally illustrative. Recently the Committee reported its conclusions concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, formed as an organization to improve cultural and economic conditions in the South. The Conference, the Committee maintained, is in fact "perhaps the most deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization" despite its "professions, in generalities, of love for America." Characteristically enough, the Committee gave no hearing to the Conference or to any of the individuals (many of whom are eminent in their communities) who are responsible for its affairs. Instead, the Committee penetrated the organization's "disguise" by processes of which the following are examples:

1. In 1934 the now president of the Southern Conference wrote a book on international commerce. In this book, the Committee advises us, the author ventured "certain mild criticisms of Soviet policy," but "he has not recently expressed any such strictures toward either the Soviet Government or the American Communists." Moreover, in his book he quoted several Communist writers and, after recounting some of the radical economic theorizings of the

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1840's, stated that out of this welter of ideas "Karl Marx arose as the great philosopher for the laboring man." Those who read the book (rather than the Committee's description of it) will find that the author quoted Marx and the other Communist dogmatists merely to demonstrate that their predictions about an international socialist economy had not come to pass and were not likely to do so. But quote them he did.

From the Committee's reactions to the book in question we may deduce that, to be among the saved,

a) It is highly desirable not to write a book at all; or

b) If one does write a book venturing "criticisms of Soviet policy," one should write a succession of books containing similar criticisms, lest it be thought that failure to repeat one's criticisms implies a change of heart; and

c) Even when it is pertinent to describe a Communist thesis in order to refute it, one should carefully avoid quoting an authoritative Communist spokesman lest one be deemed himself a Communist propagandist; and

d) One should carefully avoid acknowledging that Karl Marx has had a somewhat significant influence upon proletarian thought; and

e) Perhaps, especially, one should not write a book and subsequently become interested in social reform.

2. The secretary of the Southern Conference, who had studied at Union Theological Seminary, in 1936 wrote a book on "aspects of social Christianity in the last three decades of the nineteenth century." Among the Christian social reformers of that period was the late George Herron, and he was accordingly discussed along with many others in the same general category. Herron passed through several stages of conflict with the prevailing attitudes of his co-religionists and contemporaries. Toward the close of his life he be-

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came a Marxist and a philosophical revolutionist. This development in Professor Herron's thinking was duly described by the author. The Committee report blandly asserted that the author had defended Herron's "views on violence." Nothing in the book supports the assertion. The author was scrupulously expository.

From this we learn that, to be immune against attack as a Communist sympathizer,

a) It is best not to write a scholarly book about persons whose opinions have not been endorsed by the Committee;

b) If, notwithstanding this advice, one does write such a book, it must be written as a positive attack rather than as an objective description.

3. A former secretary of the Southern Conference, a well-known university professor, had in 1938 written a book about the debased sharecropper and tenant farmer economy of certain portions of the South. The Committee noted that in the year following its publication the volume had been favorably reviewed by a Communist functionary. This of course rendered it unnecessary for the Committee to examine the content of the book. It may be said in passing that the book was most warmly praised by all the reviewers whose opinions appeared in the respectably capitalist press. This circumstance was overlooked by the Committee.

From this we learn that, to avoid being cast into the outer darkness,

a) One should not write books calling attention to certain shortcomings of the South; or

b) One's publisher should not let one's book fall into the hands of a Communist book reviewer unless the Communist has first promised to denounce it.

4. The former chairman and now honorary president of the Southern Conference is President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Graham is of course not a Communist;

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even the Committee admits as much. But, according to the Committee, he is "one of those liberals who show a predilection for affiliation to various Communist-inspired front organizations." Dr. Graham's achievements as university administrator and public servant, including his recent work as the American representative on the United Nation's committee to conciliate the Dutch and Indonesians, are so well-known that refutation of the Committee's attack is superfluous. Consider, however, the implications of the Committee's comment upon Dr. Graham. He has, in times past, allegedly associated with groups or been active in causes for which the Committee has distaste. Through this association he has acquired, derivatively, a taint. His energetic interest in another organization therefore gives rise in the Committee's mind to the belief that it, too, is tainted. This conclusion rests on the hypothesis that the tainted individual (in this instance Dr. Graham) would not be interested in an untainted group or, alternatively, that the previously pure group has become tainted by virtue of being exposed to the unpure persons (like Dr. Graham) who have joined it. By a parity of reasoning we must, of course, count as "Communist-fronts" the North Carolina Historical and Literary Society, which Dr. Graham has faithfully served as president, and also, no doubt, Phi Beta Kappa and the President's Committee on Civil Rights, since he has been an active member of both.

The absurdity of thus establishing "guilt by association" does not diminish its danger to the intellectual life of America. For example, American scientists are already fearful that possible denunciation on political grounds may prevent the normal internationalism of scientific inquiry. Their concern is not without cause, for one of the Committee's investigators has let it be known that membership in international organizations and correspondence with foreign scientists have aroused the Committee's suspicions.

If American intellectuals in general are to be adjudged guilty of un-Americanism because in the Committee's eyes they have associated with the wrong people, the safe course to pursue in a perilous world is to associate with people of whom the Committee approves. If American scholarly writers are to be politically categorized on the basis of the Committee's un-scholarly reading of their books, they

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must be careful to write as the Committee pleases, to choose their subjects cautiously, to affirm their personal "Americanism" and to declare their anti-communism no matter how irrelevant it may be to the topic under discussion. Above all, they must repress ideas and attitudes not in conformity with prevailing opinions, which might on that account be deemed by the Committee to be "inimical to our American concepts and our American future." For American scholars and educators must be mindful that if the Committee denounces them, no matter how mistakenly and no matter how disastrous the personal consequences, there is no redress. There is no action for damages against the Committee members; they enjoy and rely upon Congressional immunity from suit. Even if the denunciation be based on erroneous information calculatingly furnished by one of the Committee's witnesses, an injured person would be remediless as against the Committee's informant. Nor can one demand that the Committee grant a hearing, in which one can refute slanders and exhibit the truth. The resolution which created the Committee gave it discretion to devise its own procedures; and, exercising that discretion, the Committee has not customarily conducted its inquiries with nice regard for fairness or regularity.

The Committee is now solidly entrenched as one of the standing committees of the House of Representatives. Its discontinuance by resolution of that body is, at least for the time being, beyond the range of political probability. Are there then no ways to diminish this Committee's threat to freedom of the mind? Can the courts do what Congress will not do, abolish the Committee? Or, if the Committee is not ended, can judges effectively control its procedure, in order to protect witnesses and others against abusive treatment?

The courts themselves will soon pass on these questions. The authority of the Committee has been challenged in suitable proceedings by persons who are convinced of the illegality of the Committee's actions and of the impropriety of a legislative inquisition into political attitudes. Speculation concerning the outcome of the now pending litigation is probably fruitless. Yet, one or two general observations may appropriately be made.

We Americans are committed, as the prime article of our political faith, to the institution of the elected legislature. The legislature is

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the basic mechanism of popular government where large numbers of citizens must express their will concerning many and varied issues. They can do so most feasibly through representatives rather than directly. Democracy becomes a mere slogan, rather than a working principle, if the legislature does not possess real authority to choose among policies or to emphasize one above another, to stimulate or criticize executive activity or method, to focus public attention upon and to debate the merits of current issues.

If a legislature is to do these things, if it is to cope wisely with governmental problems, it must be adequately informed. Its power to investigate is one of the main elements of a legislature's effectiveness, one of the chief barriers against an impotence which would quickly discredit democratic processes. In the history of our national legislature literally hundreds of investigating committees have ably performed their function of informing Congress and the country about matters of public moment. The energetic explorations of these committees have vitalized the legislative process. The freedom with which they have pursued their inquiries has often conflicted with the desire of individuals to be let alone. But the clash between public necessity and private preference has become an increasingly familiar one in our complex society. It has generally been resolved in favor of permitting democratic government to function forcefully.

There is sound ground to believe that the House Committee on Un-American Activities obstructs rather than advances the people's welfare. Its reports are calculated to confuse rather than enlighten, distort as well as reveal facts. The device of the investigating committee, like other instruments of democracy, is susceptible of being abused. Even so, it is doubtful that the courts should intervene. In the long run it is probably best that Congress itself be the judge of what inquiries are necessary, and that it determine the general methods by which they should be pursued. It is difficult to forecast what information of legislative value will be developed through a Congressional investigation. If courts undertake to make the forecast, they may unwittingly prevent another branch of the government from discharging its functions.

There is danger, moreover, in relying on the courts as the sole guardians of our liberties. The protection of the courts, if it is avail-

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able at all, can be invoked only by those who, having challenged a legislative committee's powers, subject themselves to contempt proceedings. One can scarcely anticipate that every abused witness will seek refuge in the sheltering arms of the judiciary. To do so he must be willing to bear the financial burdens of litigation and, possibly even more important in some cases, the humiliation of being a defendant in a criminal proceeding. Before resisting an improperly inquisitive committee, a witness will also be given pause by realization that unless a court agrees with his appraisal of the committee, he may find himself in jail, a convicted criminal. All in all, it is improbable that courts can effectively police legislative committees: first, because a committee's abuses would have to be extreme before a court would take cognizance of them; and, second, because the present methods of challenging a committee's behavior subject the challenger to grave risks which will deter litigation by all but the most courageous. It is likely, too, that sporadic judicial control over the conduct of legislative committees might collaterally have a highly undesirable consequence. The public might be led to suppose that whatever behavior the courts had not interdicted was behavior of which the courts affirmatively approved.

If more honorable methods are to be imposed on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, they should be imposed by the House itself. Here there is no question of power. The House can direct its agent to conduct itself in a way which befits the dignity of the national legislature of the world's greatest democracy. It can do so by adopting a resolution, such as the one offered by Congresswoman Douglas, which will permit a witness to have the assistance of counsel; to make an oral or written statement which is relevant to matters about which he has been interrogated; to cross-examine a person (whether a Committee member or another witness) who has used the Committee's proceedings to attack his character or reputation; and to offer a reasonably limited denial, defense or explanation.

These proposed requirements are not technical; they are not calculated to change a legislative investigation into the counterpart of a judicial trial. Indeed, most legislative committees (unlike the House Committee on Un-American Activities) regularly permit witnesses to make prepared statements before they are questioned. For if wit-

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nesses in an inquiry can do no more than respond to specific questions, they may be prevented from testifying in a fully rounded fashion. One of the values of public hearings in legislative investigations is the resulting airing of information and opinions, including those of persons who are under investigation; this value has of course been largely lost by the House Committee, because of its insistent refusal in many cases to hear at all from persons it desires to attack, or its disinclination, when it does summon those persons as witnesses, to allow them the privilege of making a statement. Justice Frankfurter, before becoming a member of the Supreme Court, expressed belief that opportunity to cross-examine was an "essential decency" when a person was under investigation. And Judge Ferdinand Pecora, who was counsel to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency when in the early thirties it so fruitfully exposed irresponsible banking practices and the methods of securities manipulation, recently remarked that

> . . . the Investigating Committee should not indulge in hearsay or opinion evidence—for then anybody in the world can be smeared through the worst kind of character assassination from which no one could be immune, without an opportunity to face his accuser. I exposed . . . not by smear or through the opinions of others, but by force of their own testimony and activities. Unlike the present Committee, I did not call A. first to ask him if B. was an ethical banker. I called B. and questioned him. . . .

There is, in sum, nothing impractical about a fair procedure in legislative investigations. The House ought to impose one upon a committee which, after a decade of irresponsible behavior, earned the judgment of the American Civil Liberties Union that "Nothing in recent years has been as un-American as the conduct of the hearings of the Congressional Committees on un-Americanism."

More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying. The dominant pressures in the country today are toward an uncritical conformity, and toward a fearful unwillingness to preserve the civil rights of unpopular groups. The Committee implies that those who oppose it are Communists or tools of the Communists. And thus it intimidates many who ought to be most eager in their defense of the realm of ideas. It is more comfortable, and certainly safer, to worry about

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attacks on democracy in foreign countries than to be sensitive about non-democratic trends in our own. But if our American democracy is to continue in a state of health, dissident opinion must not be stifled here.

It bears repeating that many of the institutions we regard as basic, and many of the concepts we view as unassailably American, were in the beginning advocated by "radicals." Our greatest presidents were without exception non-conformists—Washington, who overthrew the existing government by force and violence; Jefferson, a sodden subverter of national institutions, and a foreign agent (of the French), to boot; Jackson, the rouser of the rabble; Lincoln, who destroyed the vested property rights of the South; Wilson, the wild-eyed college professor; and Roosevelt, the traitor to his class.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, workmen's compensation legislation, the income tax, the Social Security Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and meat rationing have one element in common. Each one of them was opposed at the outset on the ground that it was "communistic." Twenty-eight years ago, five members of the Socialist Party, elected to the New York State Legislature, were denied the seats to which the voters had sent them because the Socialist Party's "doctrines are un-American and opposed to organized government." Today the Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, has acquired almost the status of an Elder Statesman of the Republic. At the turn of the century, Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois was execrated as an anarchist. Just the other day, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth was marked by a memorial meeting in which Altgeld was eulogized by a Supreme Court justice, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, the Republican governor of Illinois, and the Democratic mayor of Chicago.

American history is a history of men who refused to be cowed; who, though at first widely viewed as sinners, came in time to be regarded as saints; who, moved by idealism, declined to accept prevailing patterns as unchangeable, but insisted instead that eagerness to correct imperfections was consistent with devotion to American institutions. It would be ridiculous to suggest that the "radicalism" of today always becomes the orthodoxy of tomorrow. Many "fool

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ideas" are fool ideas; and time proves many "crackpots" to be everything they are cracked up to be. But certainly our history makes plain the lesson that the throttling of new ideas at birth is not the way to assure national progress.

Thanks in good part to the Committee, it has today become overly easy to confuse reform with subversion, to ascribe Americanism only to those who are vocally identified with majority opinions. By facilely labeling as Communist whatever may be merely unconventional, the Committee and the groups from which it draws its chief support have moved with increasing boldness toward thought control. Those who believe that attempted restrictions on freedom of the mind and spirit are the most striking un-Americanisms must have the courage to say so now, before the attempts are wholly successful. With Emerson they must ask,

> For what avail
> the plough or sail,
> or land or life,
> if freedom fail?

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The Value of Freedom (I)

Karl W. Deutsch

THE WORLD today is divided by the rivalry between major ideological and economic systems, all of which profess attachment to the value of freedom. Clearly, the word "freedom" does not mean the same thing for everyone who uses it. But the situation suggests that today there may well be a common desire among people everywhere, which is somehow symbolized by some common value of "freedom," and to which competing leaders and ideologies find it at least expedient to appeal. Could a more generally valid concept of freedom be developed from such an assumption? Could a more general yardstick be found to judge disputed professions and policies for their real contribution, if any, to mankind's search for greater freedom in this world?

II

Let us try a tentative definition of "freedom," and see how far we get with it. Generally, a "value" implies a subjective reaction by an individual to an objective state of affairs—a feeling of value about something else which is valued, resulting in an assigning of preference to one course of behavior over another on the basis of that judgment.

For the purposes of this inquiry, let us measure a man's "freedom" by *the number of significantly different choices between actions actually available to and recognized by that man.* This definition

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implies preference for a larger number of choices over a smaller one. All choices are choices between operations, including physical and mental operations as well as the operation of relative non-interference or passivity. No total passivity, of course, is possible, while life remains.

First of all, this definition assumes that there are actual opportunities for choice in the world that surrounds us. That is to say, we assume that the course of external affairs can be significantly modified by acts originating in human consciousness and human will. We assume, on the basis of such evidence as our scientists have, that the universe is not wholly determined, that such regularities or "laws" as have been so far discovered represent merely high degrees of predictability, and leave at least some degree, however small, of freedom in every natural process of which we know. We further assume that these degrees of freedom seem to be greater in the process of biological evolution, which has been described by Julian Huxley as working with less than complete mechanical necessity, and that these degrees of freedom may be still greater in all those processes characterized by the intervention of conscious thought.

This last assumption—of some significant degree of human "free will," however limited by other factors—has long been asserted by the religions of Christianity and Judaism. It is not excluded by the findings of modern physics or biology or any of the social sciences. To be sure, free will was denied, and in its place complete determinism asserted, by some representatives of the so-called "mechanical materialism" of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Today, however, such complete determinism is no longer asserted by any strong school of thought. Against such broad consent, the old definition of some philosophers of freedom as simply "recognized necessity," becomes merely an assertion that the limits of each choice must be recognized, if the free choice within these limits is to be made with full effectiveness.

Assuming the general possibility of some sort of choice, we defined freedom as the number of choices actually available to an individual. This concept of "actually available choices" involves four broad groups of conditions, all of which seem indispensable to freedom of action:

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1. *Social permission* to act (absence of restraint—e. g., flying must be permitted by the community).

2. *Objective opportunities* to act (presence of opportunity—e. g., there must be a usable airplane).

3. *Personal capabilities* to act (i. e., to utilize the opportunities; e. g., I must be able to pilot the plane, know how to operate the controls, and I must be sufficiently free from previous internal compulsions, such as starvation, hunger, overwhelming passion, to remain capable of choosing).

4. *Subjective recognition* of these choices as available (e. g., I must realize that this chance is available to me; I must not erroneously think that the plane is out of order, or that I am too sick to fly).

The absence of restraint, either by law or by the cultural *mores* of the community, has long been stressed in the Western liberal tradition. Presence of opportunity has been emphasized more recently by Western liberal and socialist thinkers, from T. H. Green to Sidney Webb and the American New Dealers. "Capacity to act" has been used as a one-sided definition of freedom by Hegel, and as an added appeal for the "doctrine of fascism" by Benito Mussolini. Despite the variety of uses, to which these concepts have been put, they all refer to matters of fact which can largely be verified and measured by ordinary fact-finding methods, at least in what concerns the number of actually available choices to an individual at any one short time.

The picture becomes somewhat different when we extend our concept of a *number* of choices beyond such a short period of time. In real life an individual's opportunities for choices do not all materialize at the same moment. They are distributed over his lifetime, and must be added up in time if a number of choices is to be measured. For example, according to Ruth Benedict, young adults, under the patterns of Japanese culture, have fewer opportunities for choice, but old adults have in certain respects more freedom, than their respective contemporaries in the West. Any quantitative comparison of the over-all number of choices available to individuals in the two cultures would have to take into account their whole lifetimes,

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on both sides. In order to do this, it would be further necessary to compare the average life expectations in both cultures. Generally, if continued freedom of choice be accepted as a value, one of the most important considerations about any proposed specific course of action will be whether this action will prove a kind of "one-way road" *cutting down subsequent choices, or whether it will lead to broader opportunities* for choices in the future.

Still more generally, it follows from the significance of time for the total number of choices available to each individual, that *survival*, length of life, chances for future growth in opportunities or capabilities, are also additional values in the pursuit of the value of freedom. They may have to be discounted by factors of risk corresponding to the degree of probability or uncertainty of their attainment. On the other hand, the frequent and habitual exercise of deliberate free choice may in itself develop capabilities conducive to more probable survival in a not completely foreseeable future.

But every concept of "value" deals with an interaction between an objective state of affairs (that which is valued) and a subjective reaction inside a person's mind (where the value judgment is made). The number of choices to a man may therefore depend on the extent to which *he* happens to consider successive opportunities for choice as "contemporary" to be included in the number of choices which he feels to be available to himself.

The individual may choose to count the number of his choices not only beyond any single moment in his life, but even beyond his personal life altogether. He may extend his sense of personal *identification* to his children, or his more remote descendants, or his social group, or to mankind as a whole—or even, beyond mankind, to some aspect of the universe in terms of some particular religion or philosophy. In that event, he may refer to himself future opportunities for choice which will actually accrue only to his children or posterity. Side by side with the choices which he himself can make in his lifetime, he may value the choices which he can only hope to make indirectly through these extensions of his self. If he so acts, he may gain a greater sense of personal freedom than he could ever have derived from the mere sum of direct choices open to him during his lifetime. He may find that this extension of his personality provides

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him with an indirect alternative against the one fact against which there is no other alternative in the life of any individual—the fact of death—and so win, against this last contingency, a sense of freedom unavailable to him in any other way. And this attitude may be strengthened by the practical experience that habitual identification with the interests of posterity may prove, in fact, conducive to greater statistical chances of survival and freedom for all members of the group, leaving each man a chance to benefit from the selflessness of his ancestors, as his posterity will have a chance to benefit from his.

Our attempt to find a factual and measurable concept of freedom in the number of choices available to the individual—or to what the individual chooses to include as part of his identity—has now led us to suspect that there may be an ethical, philosophical or religious element implied in any factual definition of freedom. In practical terms of economics, men may derive a greater sense of freedom from foregoing the choices available to them from the early exploitation of certain woods and grasslands, in favor of the wider choices in wealth and inspiration for their posterity resulting from the conservation of these areas and resources. In terms of less tangible values, the lives of philosophers like Spinoza or Kant, as well as those of many saints of many religions, may suggest that at least some men seem to have gained a broader sense of freedom by extending their identification to something far beyond themselves.

III

If freedom is the range of choice between operations, the operations between which we choose may be divided into *provisionally external* and *provisionally internal* operations. The former consist mainly in external courses of action, but they cannot but become linked with internal, mental operations. The latter consist mainly in internal, mental acts, but they deal with symbols derived directly or indirectly from external events, and they lead sooner or later back into actions or omissions in the external world.

There is, therefore, a subjective element contained in our elements of freedom, first in the notion of "self" to which we refer the number of choices which we recognized as available to it; and secondly,

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in the concept of each of the possible operations among which we choose. Could these subjective elements offer a basis for a whole series of *short-cuts through which our sense of freedom might be increased through subjective, mental operations*, without any significant change in our material surroundings?

Our subjective "sense of freedom" is based on capabilities and identification. We can increase, first of all, our capabilities for choice by reducing our internal compulsions. It is of these compulsions that we speak when we refer to a man as being a "slave of his passions," or a "slave of his habits," or a "slave of his needs." It is greater freedom from these compulsions that philosophers and saints have sought when they taught the subduing of passions, the breaking of habits, the making light of needs. Such a rearrangement of an individual's scale of values and personality structure is perhaps indicated by such words as "detachment" and "disinterestedness," and the suggestion of greater freedom of mind which they carry.

Secondly, we may increase our number of significantly different choices by increasing our powers of discrimination, up to the limits imposed by such objective discontinuities as may be inherent in the external situation (a farmer may kill a pig, or a physicist work with a quantum; but you cannot kill half a pig, or work with half a quantum). Within these limits, whether the difference between two externally possible choices becomes significant or not depends on four factors: their relation to the environment in which they are made; the structure of the instrument used to obtain the information needed for choosing (the sensitivity of a musician's ear, or the resolving power of a telescope); the structure of the instrument used to act according to the choice (e.g., the controls on a crane, the fineness of a drawing pencil); and the skill of the person who chooses and acts. This last point leads to problems of education, which are touched upon below, and bears on the well-known problem of "objective" value *vs.* subjective preference in art or recreation, as discussed by J. S. Mill and recently by C. S. Lewis: the value of freedom implies a value for individual powers of sensitivity and discrimination; and competing aesthetic values or preferences could be compared by their effect on the minds of individuals, in so far as these effects can be ascertained; but such preferences cannot be standardized or pressed

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upon all members of society, since their effect on each person's mind will vary with the individual.

We may further increase our sense of available choices between at least subjective moods by extending our identification, our "empathy," to a wide range of other subjects, accepting as our own some of their possibilities of emotional experience. Much of the subjective sense of freedom of some artists, poets and thinkers may have its root in such an increased ability for empathy, possibly in combination with a differentiation of personality extending their range of possible emotional or intellectual experiences, so as to furnish a wider base for free choice among them, unless offset, however, by greater inner compulsions. Where this occurs, as it may have in the case of Goethe, we find suggestions of an unusual sense of freedom at times in conflict with suggestions of being "possessed" by overwhelming inner drives. But where these inner drives are brought under control, the "demon" seems subdued, and a detached "Olympian" sense of freedom appears as the outcome.

The traces of this search for freedom through purely subjective operations, through internal changes of the human personality, without any change in the external facts of life, extend through many centuries. Its results have greatly enriched the world's artistic and spiritual tradition. It has seemed to avoid much conflict between men and men, men and institutions.

But in the end this seeming short cut has proved a blind alley in those cultures that sought in it the only or the main approach to freedom. It did not and could not increase the total amount of choices of external action actually available. It did permit the more effective scrutiny of such choices as there were, and perhaps a fuller bringing out of the intellectual or emotional implications of each of them. Not by accident have regimes and cultures of rigid order or of oppression so often been accompanied by the flourishing of mysticism or scholastic ingenuity. Isolated from other approaches, this search for freedom through inwardness may lead to stagnation or even shrinking of freedom in the world of outside everyday experience. The resulting situation seems comparable to the more and more careful extraction of the last bits of ore from an increasingly exhausted vein, without any serious prospecting for new deposits

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outside the old mine. Our minds cannot work indefinitely without the vital food of experiences from the external world from which our mental symbols are derived, nor can the new combinations and trains of thought be developed indefinitely without new confrontations with outside reality. No sense of freedom has ever been maintained indefinitely for large numbers of human beings if all their external experiences increasingly contradicted it. In the long run, purely internal operations have furnished none but deceptive answers to the dangers of a narrowing life or of threatened survival.

If this be true for the probable outcome of this approach as applied to most human beings, it follows that even exceptional individuals can follow the subjective path only within limits. They can gain some greater internal development and freedom while most of their fellows remain unfree, warped or stunted. But men's minds have some interdependence by their nature: to feast while our fellows are starving may still our hunger but it is more than likely to warp our personality. In the long run, it cannot be an answer even to the problem of the individual.

IV

For centuries, and particularly since the eighteenth century, the answer to the problem of freedom has been sought in that peculiar combination of external and internal operations known as *education*. Let men deliberately develop their personalities and sense of freedom *through utilizing the external services and facilities of education:* the schools, universities, museums, theaters, galleries of art—as well as any religious institutions, in their educational aspects.

But these services are based on material facilities, equipment, materials and labor. If these services are to be effectively accessible to the bulk of the people, their facilities must be vastly multiplied in numbers. If they are to be improved in quality, any such improvement involves again the expenditure of mental and physical labor, with a corresponding allocation of facilities. If large numbers of people are to be able merely to devote the time necessary for themselves to benefit from education, they must be able to afford to do so—that is, to divert that part of their time and effort from more immediately gainful or materially productive pursuits. In practice, there

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is no people in the world today that has at its disposal more than a small fraction of the facilities required for such an undertaking. To invite under these conditions the masses of the population to seek their freedom in effective mass education, may mean merely to invite them to compete against each other for access to inadequate facilities, with every increase in the popular desire for education making the competition more bitter.

Even those who have attained education are left with different needs for living standards and kinds of occupation than would have been their needs in its absence. To educate the mass of people without changing the material conditions of life, national income, and employment structure, which may condemn most adults to lead narrow and, as it were, "uneducated" lives, means merely to educate young men for disappointment—a point made long ago in Professor Sorokin's study of *Social Mobility*, and subsequently confirmed by the experiences of educated but unemployed or misemployed young men from Germany to India and South America. The result in all these cases has generally tended in the same direction: resentment against an education creating capabilities without providing the opportunities for their exercise, and intensified effort, individual or organized, to gain such material opportunities, either by taking them away from others, or by reorganizing the community so as to widen the supply of opportunities as a whole. In either case, what started out as the partially internal operation of education, ended up as intensified pressure for external opportunities.

V

We have been driven back to the objective element in freedom—freedom as the *scope of action*—in Hegel's words, as "the capacity to act." Freedom under this aspect seems to merge with knowledge and power, and in this context "knowledge *is* power," as in the old saying.

We find a more objective, more measurable index for this freedom in a concept borrowed from modern biologists: the greater independence from the environment and greater control over the environment, which in the view of Julian Huxley may provisionally be taken

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as the criterion of what measurable biological progress there has been thus far on this planet.

To be sure, Mr. Huxley insists:

> True human progress consists in increases of aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual experiences and satisfaction.
>
> Of course, increase of control and of independence is necessary for the increase of these spiritual satisfactions; but the more or less measurable and objective control over and independence of external environment are now merely subsidiary mechanisms serving as the material basis for the human type of progress; and the really significant control and independence apply to man's mental states—his control of ideas to give intellectual satisfaction, of form and color or of sound to give aesthetic satisfaction, his independence of inessential stimuli and ideas to give the satisfaction of mystic detachment and inner ecstasy.*

But Mr. Huxley seems to offer none but subjective criteria as to just what these "satisfactions" ought to be, and thus leaves us in the old difficulties of the subjective and hedonistic philosophies of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. More practically, our brief survey of the internal subjective approaches to freedom has left us with the impression that at this particular stage in human history it is still the tragic shortage of material facilities which constitutes the most critical "bottleneck" in mankind's search for greater freedom for all.

Facilities and opportunities are functions of power, be it power over nature or power over men. The obvious shortcut among these two, power over men, has proved a blind alley in the past, and seems likely to prove even more of a blind alley in the future. We are left to pin our hopes to the pursuit of power over nature, the open frontier of pure and applied science and productive human co-operation.

The conquest of power over nature has thus far always required —and may long continue to require—the increasingly vast and *increasingly dependable cooperation of men.* As a minimum of *regularity and predictability* in nature— which scientists have called the "laws of nature"—is the indispensable condition for the possibility of any deliberate action in general, so a minimum of predictability in human relations is the indispensable condition for any deliberate or

*From *Evolution—The Modern Synthesis*, by J. S. Huxley. New York: Harper and Bros., pp. 575-576.

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concerted action in society. The greater the scope of human undertakings, the greater the need for human dependability—a need which will long continue to grow in the future.

Sometimes this dependability has been identified with law. Hegel, by an act of double identification, then saw in law and the state—including the then Prussian state—the indispensable foundations of freedom. But law and the state in this sense are devices of enforcement, not guarantees of dependability. The two are not the same. A law may be frequently enforced, but not enough often to be dependable—such as Prohibition in the United States—or it may have been regularly enforced in the past without being dependable for the future—such as the laws of the Bourbon monarchy in France in 1788, one year before the French Revolution. In these cases, certain relationships were enforceable, but men could not depend on them.

There are other relationships today which cannot be enforced, but on which in practice most individuals depend with confidence—such as the faithfulness of their wives or husbands, or the love of their children. Several centuries ago men could legally force their wives to a continuation of marriage, which has become quite unenforceable today. We each rely on our marriage, to the extent that we do rely on it, to some degree because of the non-violent sanctions of our community's morality, and to a more important degree because of our knowledge of the persons and relationships involved—because the unenforceable relationship has become so adjusted in a centuries-long process of trial and error (which is, of course, not finished) as to make continued marriage voluntarily acceptable and desirable to both parties. There seems thus to be at least some evidence that *patterns of dependability can grow after having been separated from enforcement*; that they need not be rigid, but can be evolving and flexible; that, if man's near future may be one of increasing organization, it may yet be organization for freedom. . . .

The second half of Mr. Deutsch's essay will appear in the Summer number.

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EXERCISES IN CRITICISM . . .

Leo Stein

William James

AMONG recent philosophers William James holds a place distinguished and apart, which may well prove permanent. His books, like the best literature, can bear rereading, for he offers something more than a doctrine that is to be learned. What he has to say is never said completely in isolated theories or groups of theories, and the attempt so to understand him falsifies him. Most philosophy is an attempt to state precisely what is imprecisely conceived, with the consequence that the sharp contours which pretend to confine the matter are hardly more than fictions. The philosopher who stands within his lines defending them is generally as uncertain of their actual tracing as are those who attack them from without. He has, however, the conviction that they must be intelligible and somehow right. The assailants have the conviction that they are unintelligible and somehow wrong. The disputes follow on publication, and continue for all time if the philosopher is important enough to survive. There is not a single philosopher of whom it can be said today that one knows precisely and unequivocally what he meant.

•The late LEO STEIN spent most of his life in Europe. His first book in more than twenty years, *Appreciation: Painting, Poetry and Prose*, appeared last June and received wide critical acclaim. A posthumous volume of unpublished writings is under preparation.

With these two articles, originally published twenty years ago, THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR departs from its usual practice of not reprinting pieces which have appeared elsewhere. The unusually wide interest accorded Mr. Stein's recent book seems to us to justify breaking precedent in this way.

"William James" is reprinted from the *American Mercury*, September, 1926, by permission of the publishers.

"Distortion" is reprinted from the *Dial*, July, 1927, by permission of the Dial Press, Inc.

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It is the distinction of William James that he not only didn't know precisely what he meant but knew that he didn't know, and made no attempt to state it precisely. For him the concept never fully expressed any matter with which philosophy deals, since this needs to be indicated so that it may be appreciated, rather than defined so that it may be understood. Certainly there is a thread of understanding that runs through this matter, but this is comparatively thin, while the matter to be apprehended is thick. As a result there are few sharp edges, but this does not make the thought sloppy. Critics are constantly complaining, and often try to apply his statements in such a way that the matter should be completely held within the limits of the statements and not blend with apparently outlying matter. They do not seem to get hold of the fact that to do so falsifies James's meaning, and also falsifies the matter with which he is dealing. They have continually tried to make of James's rich saturated solution a group of crystals that could readily be handled and definitely measured. But to the last has James eluded them.

An instance of what I mean is the pragmatic truth of religion. James held that the working value of religion was evidence of its truth. What he could possibly mean by this statement puzzled many critics, who felt that here his good nature had passed all reasonable bounds. Really his good nature was not involved, but his intelligence was. He had in mind the concrete situation which he has described in the essay, "The Will to Believe." James meant that when religion is for someone a "live option," when it is practicable to believe, and advantageous, then it is well to do so, and the good results are evidence of the truth. But the critic wants to know what it is that is shown to be true. Is it shown to be true that religion is desirable, or that some religion is true, or that the Baptist religion, say, is true? What the critic actually wants is to discuss the presented situation in terms that the presented situation does not admit of.

To J. H. Newman, for instance, the choice was to be made between the Church of England and the Catholic Church. He could accept the dogmas of either, provided he could accept the Church. That is to say, the situation was a total one. Whatever the choice is to be, a certain amount goes together. The critic tries to apply scientific analysis. In science truth is a satisfactory concordance

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which results from the manipulation of such analyzed material. Newman could apply such methods to the historical evidence, but his confirmatory satisfaction in the truth of Catholic dogma and Catholic life was a single and coherent fact. What is proved to be true is that which belongs, and to demand what it is in particular that belongs to an unanalyzable situation, is to go begging for the unattainable. To avoid analysis when analysis is possible is to betray the intelligence, but to dogmatize about the results of an analysis that one cannot make is equally to betray the intelligence. It was James's vivid perception of situations that were actual that made him accept them without insisting that they answer questions which in the nature of things they couldn't answer.

It is this maintained contact with the facts of life that makes James's vivid, beautiful prose so easy to read and so difficult to understand. One feels its richness, and one ignores its kind of precision. In this respect it contrasts notably with that of Professor John Dewey. Dewey is hard to read but easy to understand. But to understand him, especially in his recent work, one shouldn't exactly read him. Dewey, in *Experience and Nature,* for instance, writes abstractly with concrete situations in mind. Consequently, if one reads and tries to understand him directly, one is held up by a blank wall of abstract propositions. On the other hand, if one reads alongside the text and makes of the book a kind of running commentary on things and events, the text becomes both intelligible and illuminating. Many disciples of Dewey find the Carus Lectures hard to understand. This makes one think that their instrumentalism is more a matter of theory than of practice, and that they can understand their master more easily when he explains his theory than when he applies it. If this were not so, they would not tend to lose themselves in the somewhat harsh procession of Dewey's sentences; they would run lightly and gaily beside them, and abound in the sense of what they meant.

James's books are as far as possible from this. Here is no abstract philosopher who makes concrete connections and applications; but a man for whom concrete situations sprout into philosophy. No matter how abstract the argument may immediately seem, it is both nourished by particulars and sends out tentacles in all directions to grasp the particulars to which reference is implied. Anyone who

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cuts the tentacles and tries to reduce the argument to the mere central core, in losing part of the meaning, loses the whole. James said in a letter written from Brazil in 1865, "No one can see further into a generalization than his own knowledge of details extends." Many people might say a thing of this kind and in a sort of ineffectual way believe it, but James believed it effectually. He really behaved as though to him it were true, and the special quality of his writing is largely due to this. The facts are present even when they are not mentioned, held in the menstruum of James's extraordinary style.

It is impossible to be rooted in the facts in all their concrete diverse richness and yet to write in terms of abstract precision, unless one's abstractions are to be of the most general kind. Then all the particulars can be implicated because the terms are so very inclusive. This is true of much mystical writing, where all particulars are taken up into some comprehensive, comprehending, but incomprehensible cosmic whole. James, however, was not a mystic—he was a man of science. It was his subject matter that made it impossible to pack the stuff into neat formulæ. The subject matter could not, like the subject matter of ordinary physics and chemistry, be completely expressed in words and numbers, or like the subject matter of geology or biology, be in part so expressed and in part be pointed at distinctly. The subject matter was not susceptible of a sufficiently exact analysis.

The only thing to do was to use the more tangible portions for establishing coigns of vantage from which the rest could be approached. James's ability to do this was of the rarest, but in general the critical reader is recalcitrant. He reads and admires, but still thinks that James is keeping something back. "Yes," he says, "that is very nice, but please tell me *exactly* what you mean." This reminds me that when Freeman in his history of the Norman Conquest had elaborated an account of the Battle of Hastings with everything that he knew and everything that he could guess, some one who was writing an historical novel asked him about the weather of that memorable twenty-eighth of September, 1066. Apparently the ingenuous novelist supposed that one who knew so much must be keeping back something if he didn't tell all.

James was in fact telling all that he knew, but he seemed rather

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to disapprove of telling more than he knew. He was not afraid of the hazard, but he disliked the futility. This combination of fearlessness and prudence, of recklessness and caution, makes him so easy to understand if you go along with him, and so hard to understand if you turn up your coat collar and say, "Show me." It makes him more veracious than most, and different from the general run of those who derived from him. These belonged in the main to one or the other of two classes—the neo-realists and behaviorists who tried to make him exact, and the mystics who tried to make him inexact. James was less dogmatic, that is to say, more scientific, and did not lose from sight his actual subject matter.

Professor Dewey, in his review of James's *Pragmatism*, said that the book is more likely to take a place as a philosophic classic than any other writing of our day. I believe that this will prove true of James's writings as a whole. Their balanced fullness, their concrete richness, makes them possessive of something more than the mere germ of what has been more fragmentarily though more intensively developed since. But these developments serve to makes James richer. Many paths trodden in our day lead out from his work and return to it again. The world which he perceived was a multitudinous one. He never lost the sense of the multitudinous thing, and yet never lost himself in it. So he became the richest interpreter of that of which he was so rich a part.

Distortion

SINCE Cézanne, it has become evident that distortion has some important relation to art, that it is something other than exaggeration, and that possibly it may be something essential. . . .

Distortion for a theory of aesthetics does not necessarily imply a neglect of the rational order. It is the result of a different way of taking the material. There hangs in the next room the picture of a woman sewing. The action of pushing the needle through the cloth is beautifully rendered. For the purposes of science a moving finger occupies successive points at successive moments, but in this picture

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the finger is at all moments where it is and where it isn't. On the canvas it occupies a definite place, but there is so much of suggested movement that when I look at the hand I do not see it confined to that or any other spot. It belongs definitely in the composition, but the composition is a dynamic one and therefore any element of that composition is not only where it is inventorially to be found, but is also anywhere where it works. The distortion which is of the essence of aesthetic expression is the distortion that makes effective such action at a distance. It produces what we call the unity of the work of art. No aesthetic expression is without it. Aesthetic unity can be obtained only by breaking through the defined contours of the inventorial object, and through effecting a fusion of the content. Every aesthetic expression is dynamic, and therefore involves distortion.

There is such a thing as distortion in science as well as in aesthetics, but that is a very different kind of thing. The self is concerned essentially in science only to the extent that there is a felt interest in knowledge—curiosity, it is often called—which directs the individual toward the processes of science. Of course there are personal conditions of this direction of interest, but the important thing is that the self should not pervade the result. Through the self is brought about the contact between the individual and the things, but the scientific object into which the self enters as a factor, is a scientific object which has been corrupted. The scientific object is complete in itself because of its double nature. It involves abstraction but not distortion. The aesthetic object being single depends upon the self, whose purposes bring about a distortion of the naturalistic, atomistic character of the individual thing which enters into the composition of the aesthetic object.

Both the scientific and the aesthetic objects are cognitive objects, but there is this important difference: that for the scientific object knowing is a purpose, an interest, while for the aesthetic object it is not. For science we want to know what something is, and to get this result we relate it to something else. But in aesthetics we want the object to serve the ends of the self, and in the course of satisfying this purpose we create a cognitive object. Often we satisfy the demands of the self with things that are known on the outskirts rather than in the focus of attention, and so we get the group of attenuated

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aesthetic objects which I shall call environmental, and which, like decoration, or landscape gardening, serve to give a particular background and atmosphere. In this the knowledge of the object is minimized. But in the purer aesthetic experience at its maximal state, the object is intensely seen. We look at it, however, not because we want to know that particular thing, but because it offers to the self a more or less adequate accommodation.

Distortion in aesthetics means simply that the things which are normally given in the course of practical experience, are selectively and in combination so treated as to satisfy an end of personal interest, and that in the course of this process their inventorial identity is respected, not for its own sake, but only in so far as the present attitudes of the self are compatible with it. By way of instance I recall what Matisse said to me several times, during that period when his pictures showed the most extreme distortion of natural forms. He said that he never began a picture without hoping that this time he would be able to carry it through without any distortion that would disturb the ordinary onlooker. But his greater demand was for certain qualities of plenitude and rhythm, and before he had managed to work up his inventorial items of human bodies and accessories to the conditions of his pictorial intention, they had been pulled entirely out of shape.

In Cézanne's pictures the conditions of distortion were the same. It was done on purpose but not, in childish language, intentionally on purpose. It happened once that a young painter asked me why Cézanne had distorted the dish in a certain picture that was before us. I told her to look at the picture, and to imagine the dish drawn as a proper ellipse. Of course she saw at once that this would not do. It would have been possible to have done a picture with the plate as a good ellipse, but in that case Cézanne would have had to make compensating distortions elsewhere. The kind of result that he was after could not be obtained by keeping a group of normally seen objects constant to their normal appearances. No aesthetic whole would allow of this completely, and Cézanne's less than some others.

The specific distortions that are the conditions of all aesthetic seeing, explain the education that makes the connoisseur. The average

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person in respect of art is like the average person in respect of manners. In his native conditions, and without paying especial attention, he naturally shows his personal characters of grace or stolidity, his ease or stiffness, or whatever. But the same person on his good behavior, especially in unfamiliar conditions, may lose entirely his normality of conduct. This happens because he cannot establish a satisfactory relation between that which appears before him and his self. He could establish it only if he were virtually unconscious of the peculiarities of the particular situation, and took his own way like a bull in a china shop; or if he were discriminatingly aware of it, and abstracted from the situation those elements with which he could deal, and tactfully avoided the rest. The connoisseur is in a similar position. Often he takes his self so absolutely as a standard that he can pronounce on anything, with no more preparation than to see the thing. Sometimes he is sufficiently discriminating to know the measure of his self, and avoids pronouncements where he cannot penetrate. Others have less fixity of the self, and these can establish new relations with what they encounter. They not only recognize realms in which they are not competent, but they are ready to find their way, if possible, with as-yet-unheard-of conditions. Beware of the cultured person who is ready at a moment's notice to give a critical opinion on anything. Such a person is eminently competent to write a history of art, but he is good for little else. Sometimes he cannot even write a history of art. In that case he is usually a second-hand radical.

It is commonly said that in art the whole man comes to expression, but that science is concerned with abstractions. Art is never purely aesthetic—there is always involved something more than that—but even so, art does not appeal to the whole man. It does appeal to him as a whole, but that is a different matter. The expression in aesthetics is always indeterminate, and therefore there is an indeterminate extent of the self involved. We know that in science there is a specific minimum which is the interest in knowing, and that its definite test is verification. But in aesthetics there is nothing verifiable. A change in opinion does not prove the previous one wrong, for often one comes back to it later. Another self-grouping seems to be involved. An aesthetic object is authentic if at any moment it is actually per-

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ceived as such. No picture is invalid, or definitely bad, if it represents any person's seeing. All we need to do is to put ourselves in that person's place, and we too will see it so. Perhaps we cannot do this, and certainly in many cases we do not want to, but that does not alter the facts. Either the self conditions, and enters into the object, or else it does not. There are some intrinsic conditions that measure the purity of a work of art as an aesthetic object, but I know of none that can determine whether one work or another fulfills these conditions, except a personal appreciation. Let any man stand by his appreciation, and he can with a perfectly good conscience defy the opinions of the most assured superiority. He is safe against all attack.

What the self involved in aesthetic experience at a particular moment is, one cannot say. It is the organized product of someone's past modified by many adventitious, floating factors. Success or disappointment in some passing matter of business or love may have as much effect on any particular expression, as one's philosophy or religion. An ideal practitioner ought perhaps to ignore the passing event, but there is just as good a reason why he should ignore his philosophy and his religion. If we go behind the fact of what he at the moment is, we cannot stop short of demanding the normal man, the absolute human being. That demand is not worth entering on. To entertain it speculatively, would mean to have a competent philosophy. To entertain it practically, would mean to produce the man. The one enterprise is no more within the field of actual competence than the other. Therefore aesthetic distortion cannot be reduced to a system. It depends not only upon the changes imposed upon the inventorial things by the act of unifying them, but furthermore upon the irreducible idiosyncrasies of this man and that other who does the unifying.

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THE FAN

Dorothy Berry Hughes

With all the rest remember vanity,
In total winter its audacious blooms.
Recall without comment and without rigor
The preening earth, the glory its assumes.

Discover splendor where no splendor is.
It struts in rags, and clothes the Sunday clerk.
It gilds his boast who shouts above his fate,
Drowning the silence where his demons lurk.

Follow the golden path, the peacock trail.
The hero passed there, and the millionaire.
But beauty has the witchery of a girl,
And flaunts its brilliance in her burnished hair.

Pride is the stallion, and the sun-drenched bird.
It is exuberance, and sheer delight.
It is the frail fan debonairly turned
Between the glowing moment and the night.

•The poems of DOROTHY BERRY HUGHES have been published in *Poetry*, *Voices*, *Poetry Chapbook*, *Spirit*, *Tomorrow*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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Cancer Research: Integrator of the Sciences

Paul A. Zahl

CANCER IS tissue growth that defies the body's status quo . . . a growth that expands autonomously, pushing and disseminating into areas often far remote from its site of origin. The malignancy of any cancer is proportional to the degree to which it manifests these characteristics.

The fundamental and as yet unsolved problem is: What causes cells occasionally to revert from normalcy to an autonomy which defies authority? Why do they not remain consistently faithful to the laws prevailing within the organism?

The present-day broadside attack on this basic biological problem has revealed inadequacies in the empirical approach; and the problem of cancer has ceased to be the exclusively medical one of years past. Frustration is being hopefully relieved by research specialists from practically all the natural and physical sciences, who are stepping in to augment and vitalize the attack.

In order to understand the rationale basic to modern cancer research, it may be desirable to define the problem in terms of its underlying biological theory.

II

The earliest cells of the growing embryo are unspecialized, perhaps like the prototype single-cell creatures (or minute clusters of them) that appeared on this planet a billion years ago. As the embryo develops, these cells are impelled by chemical and genic forces to begin what the embryologist calls differentiating. By this is meant that there occurs a division of labor, a definition of function. The

•In 1936, PAUL A. ZAHL joined Caryl Haskins in setting up the Haskins Laboratories in New York. His own program in experimental cancer is supported by grants from the National Cancer Institute and the United States Public Health Service. Another article by Dr. Zahl, "A Biologist Looks at War," appeared in the Winter, 1947-48, number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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subsequent progress of the embryo is too familiar to the reader to warrant detailed description: the formation and multiplication of muscle cells, nerve, bone, gland, digestive, and blood cells—comprising finally the many tissue specialties to be found in the body. The successive spatial and functional arrangements of these cellular specialists into the various tissues and organs during embryonic development is believed to represent a one-generation recapitulation of the billion-year epic of animal evolution.

In passing through its embryonic growth stage, every multicellular organism living on this earth today becomes an integration whose cellular components blindly and obediently accede to rigid chemogenetic forces aimed at the good of that organism. When, for example, a muscle cell contracts, it is not subserving its own ends, but those of the body; and so with almost every other cell type and tissue. This sort of cell subjugation represents a process almost as old as life itself; indeed, without it the existence of man or any other multicellular system would be quite impossible.

However successful cellular altruism and division of labor are in producing the intricate biological mechanism, there appears now and then a very curious counter-element. Occasionally a few cells somewhere in the body are gripped by an inexplicable reversion, perhaps to embryo days when they existed as relatively unspecialized individuals. Or it may be that the controls within the system become relaxed or defective. Or perhaps some exciting agent is invisibly at work. In any case, these dissenting cells approach a condition of autonomy and seeming independence; they begin dividing and metabolizing freely, unlike their normal brother cells, which continue to divide and metabolize only at a rate and in a manner prescribed by the body's general control agencies.

The "rebellion" gathers strength until at last it may blind the cells to their previous fidelity to the organism, and they begin to function in a manner suggestive of their more primitive forebears, casting aside the laws of benign subjugation under which they had been serving the body. The vagrant cells begin reproducing themselves in an abnormal manner and, in fact, often change structurally—so that under the microscope they may even exhibit embryonic characteristics. By the time the body's control forces are aware that some-

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thing dangerous is afoot, the cells may have reproduced into multitudes of their sort, all now imbued with the spirit of anarchy. They wallow in the energy-bearing fluids of the host, become deficient in the performance of their specialized functions (although usually not wholly), and thrive at the expense of the cellular society of which they were previously obedient members.

Clinically the thing may look like an innocuous lesion. But microscopically such tissue is disclosed to comprise an increasing mass of cellular terrorists in the process of throwing off the shackles. If the disturbance has occurred among liver cells—it is liver cancer. If it has occurred among breast tissues—breast cancer. If among brain cells—brain cancer. There are just as many cancers clinically as there are cell specialties in the body. Each variety of such growth—each type of cancer—has its own secret set of chemical motivators and excitors, and creates its own variety of symptoms. No matter where the involvement, when the growth has spread into some vital organ or system, death to the entire body-organization must inevitably ensue. The anarchists have not only destroyed the state of their former allegiance, but they themselves have gone down to an ignominious end.

This atavistic reversion to a primitive state may show up in any multicellular organism. Plants may develop cancer, as may fish, amphibia, birds and mammals. It is a fundamental manifestation, and one not limited to the tissues of man.

Why do these cells relax in their fidelity to the body? Why this backward harking to an individualism earlier renounced? Or why have the otherwise rigid control agencies become defective? The composite of these questions is what in modern biological research is called the cancer problem. Fascinating as this problem may be in terms of theoretical biology, it is above all one of prime personal interest to each of us—for one out of seven human beings must die because of this as yet unexplained "revolt" within the body.

III

Much of what is called cancer research today is merely a quest for means by which to destroy or to limit the growth of anarchistic tissues. Successful therapy must be destructive to malignant cells

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without harming normal tissues. Attempts at therapy have been made since the days of Hippocrates. The medical literature, both ancient and modern, is virtually glutted with "cures," none of which has stood up under close analysis. Today only a few partially effective clinical measures exist. Of these, surgery is the oldest, the crudest, but perhaps still the most useful. X-rays, neutrons, and the like get into deep tissues beyond the reach of the knife; and various radioactive materials may be applied even closer to the site of the trouble—but the ever-present hazard in the use of these potent energies lies in the grave possibility of damaging normal tissues. The search for better killing agents goes on, and is obviously justified from the clinical point of view. Yet fundamental research is not concerned so much with "what to do about cancer" as with "why does it occur?" In implacably pressing this question, almost all the laboratory sciences have been drawn into the fray.

The modern approach to this "why?" involves one or all of several basic operating hypotheses.

The first holds that—preceding cancer—something changes within the culpable cells, rendering them resistant to agencies that normally keep the cells and tissues of the body under tight physiological control. It is possible, but certainly not proved, that random radiant energies (perhaps cosmic rays and the like) strike a somatic chromosome now and then and cause genic rearrangements leading to abnormal cellular behavior. All the descendants of any cell so altered will bear the fatal mark. Mutations are also known to be caused, under some conditions, by strictly chemical energies.

In connection with the subject of mutations, it should be mentioned that a vast amount of experimental work has been done on the problem of heredity and cancer. As yet no sweeping generalizations may be drawn. There are many pure bred strains of mice and rats in which cancer develops generation after generation, in strict accordance with known laws of heredity. Susceptibility to growth aberrancy in the tissues involved is obviously passed from parent to offspring. On the other hand, there are mouse strains inherently immune to cancer. The nature of the mechanism behind this susceptibility in one strain, and resistance in another, continues to be one of the most pressing as well as most baffling problems in modern

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genetics. Essentially nothing is known as to whether or how heredity affects human cancer.

A second broad working hypothesis under test by the laboratory investigator suggests that something has changed within the rigid control systems of the body. For example, it is known that cells of breast tissue are subject to at least partial control by hormones passed into the blood stream from the pituitary and ovarian glands. If the chemical temperaments of these hormones change but slightly, so will the control that they have over breast tissues. A corresponding, but in most cases still obscurely understood, regulatory system must exist for every tissue type in the body; and defects in such systems may similarly permit cells under their jurisdiction to revert to laxity—and cancer. The problem viewed from this angle becomes: What has gone wrong with the controlling agencies?

A third operating hypothesis holds that an irritating agent enters the body or is possibly released by some subtly malfunctioning tissue. This agent may be in the form of an abnormal chemical excitor, as distinguished from a mutation inducer. For example, we know many chemicals which, when applied to the skin, will cause the cells with which they come into contact to react malignantly. A classic example is the case of chimney sweeps in eighteenth-century England who, because of certain chemicals in the soot with which their skin came into daily contact, developed a high incidence of skin cancer. Many chemical, physical, and biological agents, known to irritate living tissues cancerously, are being intensively studied. Although much is understood of their nature, nothing is as yet established as to how they induce this cellular disobedience.

A fourth hypothesis is similar to the third, except that the irritating agent is considered to be of so complex a nature as actually to resemble a living virus. Such viruses, when and where they exist, are so fragile and unstable that, with few exceptions, they have defied isolation or even detection. Of the four known today, one produces cancer in chickens, one in rabbits, and one in frogs—curiously, in a different organ of each species. The fourth, and perhaps most striking, has been found in several strains of laboratory mice, and is transmitted from generation to generation through the mother's milk. This virus causes no immediate sickness upon entering the

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body; in fact, its presence can scarcely be detected by laboratory methods. The real evidence for its lethal action is that mice getting the infected milk invariably develop mammary carcinoma during the second half of their lives, and die. If, instead, they are suckled by foster mothers of a cancer-free strain, no cancer develops. In many laboratories throughout the world, men are examining the fingerprints of other such elusive agents for evidence of their identity and nature.

A final theory, and one having its origin far back in the nineteenth century, holds that in various tissue recesses of the adult body are scattered tiny clumps of cells which during the embryo stage resisted organizational forces. While other cells are taking on their special assignments, the loiterers cling to their embryonic mores and sink into a state of dormancy. But late in the life of the organism—the theory claims—these cells suddenly spring to life and begin multiplying unrestrainedly, giving rise to tumorous growths. The notion, ancient as it is, has never been proved either valid or false. Even if it were true, however, and if such embryonic fragments do indeed produce cancer, the question would persist: Why do they resist specialization in the first place, and what excites them to growth so late in the life of the host?

Modern research is approaching the cancer problem from all these theoretical angles. One school of investigators is looking for clues concerning changes within the body cells themselves. Another is looking for changes in the general integrative physiology of the entire organism. A third and fourth are looking for growth-exciting agents that may enter the body from the outside or develop from defective conditions on the inside.

There is no immediate hope for a general explanation of, or an over-all cure for, cancer—mainly because there are so many varieties of the manifestation. To discover, for example, that a virus causes breast cancer in the mouse is no reason for supposing that a virus exists, say, for bone cancer. Possibly the latter type of cancer will be found to result from some sort of physiological malfunctioning. Or because breast carcinoma in mice is transmitted by a virus is no reason for assuming that a comparable virus causes human breast cancer. Each type of malignancy has its own cause or complex of

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causes, and is likely to have its own explanation and treatment. Only one variety of cancer, for example, is known (carcinoma of the prostate gland) that will yield temporarily to a specific physiological therapy. All the others are still so obscurely understood that, in treatment, only surgery or some type of irradiation are effective.

IV

The recognition of cancer as a fundamental growth disorder, rather than as a specific disease, is of far-reaching significance. In its developmental history, each basic science has tended slowly to build a wall around itself, enclosing a honeycomb of further subdivisions or specialties. Chemistry, at first a simple discipline, was divided into organic, inorganic, physical, biological, etc. Physics remained unitary only until the fields of optics, mechanics, thermionics, electricity, nucleonics, etc., took discrete form. Biology—the life science—was broken up into zoology, botany, medicine, embryology, morphology, evolution, genetics, etc. Specialists in each field and in each discipline have inclined to become myopic, even to closely adjoining camps of knowledge.

Cancer research, more than any other modern intellectual quest, has inspired the opposite trend. Go into any large cancer research laboratory—for example, the National Cancer Institute, in Bethesda, Maryland. There you will observe physicists contributing their knowledge of radiation; chemists studying the behavior and characteristics of complex organic molecules in relation to the processes within cells and tissues; metabolism experts analyzing energy changes and conversions within the body; animal biologists probing the mores of experimental tumors; geneticists pondering hereditary resistances and susceptibilities; physiologists attempting to interpret the functionings of organs and tissues as related to growth; pathologists, cytologists and tissue culturists tracing microscopic changes within malignant and normal tissues; even perhaps botanists, bacteriologists, protozoologists and embryologists studying factors that enhance or depress the growth of the organisms within their laboratory bailiwicks; and finally clinicians, whose aim essentially is to appraise newly garnered information in respect to its applicability to the stricken patient.

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So perhaps for the first time in the history of experimental science have highly diverse laboratory specialists dissolved their academic barriers and united their efforts in a common cause. It is evident that before really effective progress can be made in the matter of curing or preventing cancer, the basic physiological and biochemical patterns of each type of growth abnormality will have to be understood more clearly. The gigantic haystack which for so many years has hidden the elusive needle—doubtless, many of them—is now being combed by all known rational methods of detailed and painstaking analysis.

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The Russian Soul: An English Literary Pattern

Dorothy Brewster

IN MAY, 1858, a handsome bearded stranger called on Thackeray in London, announcing himself as a Russian admirer of his books—Ivan Turgenev. They took a liking to each other, and "before long Turgenev was regaling Thackeray with a Russian folk-song that made him shake his sides with laughter." Had there been more laughter in Anglo-Russian relations, the English portrait of the Russian Soul might have been more genial, if less mystical.

Another distinguished Russian was living in London at this time: Alexander Herzen, one of the exiles of Mr. E. H. Carr's *Romantic Exiles*, who had flocked to England after 1848—"the one spot where they could still live and talk and conspire in peace." In his paper, "The Bell," Herzen voiced the aspirations of liberal Russian opinion. "The English had been toleration itself," writes Mr. Carr. "They were too busy with their own affairs to interest themselves in his."

But one Scotsman found Herzen's account of the development of revolutionary ideas in Russia interesting enough to write to him in 1855. If it were not true, reflected Carlyle, that sometimes a burning crisis may be considered beneficent, he himself would prefer Tsarism or Grand-Turkism to the sheer anarchy which is got by Parliamentary eloquence, Free Press, and the counting of heads; "in your vast country, which I have always respected as a huge dark 'Birth of Providence,' the meanings of which are not yet known, there is

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evident down to this time one talent in which it has pre-eminence, giving it potency beyond any other nation: *the talent of obeying*."

It must have been disconcerting to Herzen to have his countrymen praised for a talent that was so great an obstacle to the spread of the ideas he was advocating in his exile. But Carlyle was simply discovering in the Russians the opposite of what he disliked most in the English at the moment. In this he foreshadowed what became a fairly typical English pattern; for much of the rich material in English literature on the theme of the Russian Soul suggests that it was something the English needed, or fancied they needed. And as their needs varied through the decades, the Russian Soul assumed new shapes.

In Carlyle's day, the English generalized about the Russians, but the Russian Soul was still waiting in the wings of the world theater. It was the French writer, Melchior de Vogüé, who gave the signal. His *Le Roman Russe* (1886) seemed to Edmund Gosse, looking back from the vantage point of 1908, "one of the most powerfully influential products of literary criticism in the 19th century . . . a revelation of the most blazing order." Up to then little was known or conjectured in Western Europe about "the mysterious soul of Russia." Vogüé's monograph focused the whole theme, and "the Russian spirit in its consistent literature stood revealed to us."

An American reviewer in the *Nation* (1886) quotes Vogüé's idea of the conception of Christianity among the Russian people: ". . . the efficacy of suffering in itself, above all of suffering in common with others. . . . As we become more familiar with these strange writers, what impresses us most strongly in all of them, unlike as they are to each other, is a certain simplicity and grandeur of soul, a tenderness of nature, an inclination towards unbounded self-sacrifice, which is all as new to us as it is attractive." This American opinion is similar to that of the English, to whose versions of the Russian Soul I shall confine myself from now on.

As Dr. Helen Muchnic has made clear in her monograph on Dostoevsky's English reputation, Vogüé's study greatly stimulated interest in Dostoevsky, and helped to attach the Russian Soul rather specially to him—"most Russian of the Russians," according to Vogüé—in whom cruelty and tenderness, love of the actual and love of the abstract, were blended into a kind of mystic realism. Vogüé's

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phrase, the religion of suffering, became Dostoevsky's label. For the time being, awaiting the later Freudian era, Vogüé's admission of a touch of sadism in the religion of suffering was ignored.

In 1902 Dmitri Merezhkovsky's study of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky was partially translated into English, and from then on we have references to the God-man, man-God antithesis, the Christ, anti-Christ opposition, that Merezhkovsky stressed in his interpretation of Dostoevsky. Compton Mackenzie, then reading Dostoevsky in college, was impressed by Merezhkovsky's interpretation; in 1933, recalling those days, he remembers his conviction that Dostoevsky was "one of the forerunners of the third period of Christian development; and although communism in its present stage may be the negation of Christianity, I often wonder whether, like one of Dostoevsky's infernal visions, it may not in the end lead to a supernal revelation" (*Literature in My Time*).

Several of the present-day Soviet critics, with whom I talked in Moscow in the summer of 1946, think it unfortunate that the Merezhkovsky book was so well known in the West, to the neglect of the main stream of Russian criticism from Bielinsky on. Partly as a result of this neglect (mostly due to ignorance), Western critics, they believe, have seen Russian literature through the prism of a reactionary, mystical interpretation; and in seeking an explanation of its lofty moral tone and its artistic greatness, they have fallen back on the Russian Soul, as on something given once and forever, unchangeable.

Between the Russo-Japanese War and World War I, English travelers of experience, students of the people and the language, like Maurice Baring and Stephen Graham, published popular books on Russian life and literature. Baring's *Landmarks* (1910) contributed to the understanding of the Russian character the division of all Russians into two types, Lucifer and Ivan the Fool, the latter being the hero of all Dostoevsky's novels, and the aim and ideal of Tolstoy's teaching. Stephen Graham specialized in pilgrimages and peasants, and he must share responsibilty for the impression of the Russian "as a blessed sort of Idiot unable to read or write, but vitally conscious of God," and of Russia as a land of snow, ikons, mushrooms and pilgrims (Hugh Walpole, *The Dark Forest*). The enthusiasms

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of Baring and Graham helped prepare the ground for those English propagandists of World War I, who justified the alliance of democratic England with autocratic Russia on a sort of religious basis: Russia was the nation to which Christ had committed His secret, and Russia sought to recover Constantinople because it was from Byzantium that Christianity had come to Russia.

From about 1910, when Pavlova appeared in London, the Russian Soul takes on the color and movement of the Russian ballet. Frank Swinnerton, recalling in *The Georgian Scene* the early years of George V's reign, describes how the Ballet Russe "infected letters." Diaghilev and Nijinsky created a new state of mind. "Its rich décor, so bold and at times so bizarre; the triumphs of its strangeness and its beauty, the unfamiliar rhythms of its musical contributions"—all had the glory of a new world.

Intellectuals called themselves the intelligentsia, went to the ballet, read Dostoevsky, and indulged in a sort of spiritual debauch. "I know," writes John Cowper Powys in his *Autobiography*, "that in certain subterranean motions of my spirit, I am much more like the Idiot of Dostoevsky than I am like Cagliostro. I daresay I have a touch of Ivan Karamazov in me too." Somerset Maugham, sent to Russia in 1917 to prevent, as he says, the Bolshevik Revolution, dispatches the hero of his *British Agent* to St. Petersburg, where he meets an old Russian love of his and remembers the time in London "when Europe discovered Russia . . . and Russian art seized upon Europe with the virulence of an epidemic of influenza." In Anastasia's dark melancholy eyes, "a little protruding like a Pekinese's," he saw "the boundless steppes of Russia and the Kremlin with its pealing bells and the solemn ceremonies of Easter at St. Isaac's and forests of silver beeches and the Nevsky Prospekt. It was astonishing how much he saw in her eyes."

It was also astonishing how much the English saw in the Russian Soul just then. Before Mr. Middleton Murry had got around to presenting the Karamazov brothers as epochs of human consciousness, writers in the *Times* and the *Fortnightly Review* in the months preceding the outbreak of the war had done rather well with the Karamazovs as symbolic of Russia and her soul: "Russia inarticulate, dreaming her great Byzantine dreams, half-choked, half-strangled

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by barbarism, and yet retaining always a vision that sweeps upward into vistas beyond the morass of her passions" (*Fortnightly Review*). The *Times* reviewer sees England with her back toward America and materialism, and her eyes and heart toward Russia and the things of the spirit—"ready to partake of her communism of the idea and the word."

Stephen Graham, who was in Russia after the war began, found Gorky busy writing articles of which several attacked Dostoevsky as bad for Russia, because his outlook was concentrated on suffering and death: Russia must cease to be mystical, suffering, melancholy, and become the clear-minded mistress of her soul. Graham, with disarming candor, comments: "The Russia which Gorky attacks is just that which is spiritually interesting to us in England—the mystical and impractical Russia, Russia on pilgrimage, artistic Russia; and that which he wants Russia to be is just what would have least spiritual interest for us—Russia optimistic, cock-sure, business-like, well-dressed, smart and Western."

Gorky had mentioned Graham's *The Way of Martha and the Way of Mary* as meeting with English approval because "in picturing us as holy lazy-bones and impractical persons, it allowed the English capitalist to rub his hands with glee, seeing in Russia a future British colony such as Africa and India." Graham sees the point but does not yield it; England does receive spiritual help from Russia, to redeem her from commercialism and materialism, and he clings to his Holy Russia—for the sake of England.

Early in the war, Rebecca West, brooding over *The Brothers Karamazov* in a bookshop in a "delicate spirited suburb" of London, reflected that Russia was to the young intellectual of today what Italy was to the Victorians. Improvising freely on themes from Chekhov and Turgenev, to show how deeply and affectionately familiar with Russian life English readers of Russian novels have become, she concludes: "We have arrived at intimacy with a people extraordinarily like the English, in their untidiness and their inflexible conviction that there are other things in the world besides efficiency, but sweeter in their hearts, beautifully devoid of the sense of property, and beautifully troubled by consciences that are sharp-edged like a child's. And from this literary friendship there

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has sprung an immensely important comradeship of the nations which today keeps civilization together."

When the sweet-hearted Russians, so like the English, became beautifully aware of property and began taking it over—but that is a later story. We are still in 1916, when *The Soul of Russia* was published to aid a fund for Russian war sufferers. It was a handsome book, lavishly illustrated, with a distinguished list of British and Russian contributors. The Soul is examined from many angles; excellent articles give information about drama, folklore, painting, music, language, peasant industries; there are poems by Balmont and Bruisov, stories by Kuprin and Sologub.

The collection illustrates the variety of interest in Russia on the eve of the Revolution. Russia's soul is "noble," but still "unfathomable," and ignorance of the Russian language (as the editor, Winifred Stephens, notes) is unfortunate. Some articles are a little remote from the Soul. G. K. Chesterton sees a chance to attack the English party system; both parties for different reasons pamper prejudices against foreigners, especially Russians: "The English anti-imperialist denounces Russia for being an empire, and the imperialist, for being another empire. One half of the English imagine the Russian as always thinking about Siberia and the other half as always thinking about India. One pictures him as everlastingly parading with a knout in the Ural mines and the other as everlastingly lurking with a rifle in the Khyber Pass."

Havelock Ellis, writing in the *New Statesman* (1915) on the psychology of the Russian, admits that Russia is still a little barbarous. But then she is so vast, and what are the psychological implications of vastness? Gentleness, no less. "We are told of that very typical Russian Turgenev that he was a man of enormous build and extremely gentle manner, almost feminine in his impressionability and delicacy. That is the typical combination presented by Russia herself: like the elephant, enormous and delicate." Having achieved this transformation of Bear into Elephant, he discourses on the Russian genius: it flows out and lacks clear outline; it is attracted to the mystically vague; it has difficulty in concentrating its will power; it has its *nichevo*, or "it doesn't matter" mood; it is indifferent to conventional moral rules; the most profound of Russian traits is human-

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ity. In all Russian literature he finds the seal of a mingled temper, a seal of "ruggedness which finds its issue in an infinite sweetness, a revelation of human tenderness never before seen in the world." The Russian character is marked by "the strength that brings forth sweetness." At this point Samson's lion seems to have broken into the Havelock Ellis zoo.

All too soon the enormous and delicate Elephant turned back into the Russian Bear, and the strength of the Russian character brought forth bolshevism. But it is pleasant to linger as long as possible on the eve of that event. A *New Statesman* review of several books on Russia, including *Russia and the Russian Verb* (December, 1915) notes the beneficial results of progress made by British scholarship: "Only a year ago no qualifications whatever were required of the authors of papers on the Soul of Russia and such themes." The Russian verb and the Russian soul now come into an intimate relationship. "The Russian verb is poor in tenses but rich in aspects. It is constructed in fact for the benefit of people who want to know how a thing is done rather than the time when. . . . Because action is habitually spoken of as incomplete, it is regarded as incomplete, and so Russians (and particularly their novelists) refuse to pronounce moral judgments or to add up results. Some may call this reluctance mere moral slackness; others, including Miss Harrison"—the author of the book—"call it literary objectivity." Miss Harrison declares that she needs these aspects: they feed her spiritually. A few months later, Mme Jarintsov, reviewing *The Russians and Their Language*, remarks: "Ever since Miss Jane Harrison caused a boom in the imperfective aspect of the Russian verb by declaring that in it lay the clue to the soul of the Russian people, there has been much amateur psychical research into the manners and customs of the latter."

Some of the bewilderment caused by the events of the revolutionary year of 1917 is reflected in Hugh Walpole's *Secret City*. Walpole had worked with the Red Cross in Russia, and the "dark forests" and "secret cities" of his titles refer in part to the mysteries of the Russian Soul. Their soul was easier to interpret when they were still fighting as allies of the English and the soul was yearning toward the sacred city of Constantine. When it began to yearn toward bolshevism, Walpole's hero has nightmares and visions. Look-

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ing upon a great audience at a meeting, he sees "wave on wave of faces, or rather the same face . . . the face of a baby, of a child, of a credulous cynical dreamer, a face the kindest, the naïvest, the cruellest, the most friendly, the most human, the most savage, the most Eastern, the most Western in the world." Russia had slipped "behind her veil of mist and shadow. . . . We may trade with her, plunge into her politics, steal from her art, emphasize her religion—she remains alone, apart, mysterious."

Two articles appearing in the *Contemporary Review*, in April and June of 1918, seek to explain the disconcerting events in Russia by re-examining Russian literature. They typify the sharp divergence of opinion about the Revolution that appeared at once and continued through the succeeding years. Hagberg Wright (*The Rebirth of Russia*) generalizes from a broad survey of most of the important writers from Pushkin on—many of them no more than names, if that, to the English. Most people are abusing Russia, but they should remember that, while to the English, bent on winning the War, the Revolution is an episode in the War—to the Russians, the War is an episode in the Russian Revolution. And they will do Russia radical injustice unless they recognize that "the Russian Revolution is the culmination of a secular effort which engages the very soul of a people, which reaches down to the very depths of life and to the sources of hope." Dr. Wright finds in Dostoevsky the characteristic search of Russian writers for truth and justice; but though his people are Russians, they are seen in a mirror "which gives to those it reflects an appearance of malformation" (*Quarterly Review*, 1921).

It is, however, in what Merezhkovsky called Dostoevsky's laboratory that the writer of the other article, the Reverend G. W. Thorn, prefers to linger. He sees the Russian as deeply suffering and patiently enduring, until he breaks down and commits excesses: Russians sympathize with crime, and tend to carry their theories to the logical end. He quotes hair-raising passages from Dostoevsky's *Possessed* to illustrate what such tendencies, when allied with revolutionary doctrine, lead to, and regards Dostoevsky as a prophet, justified by events. (One may note in passing that the romantically inclined have continued to see puzzling events in Russia in the light of the abnormal psychology of Dostoevsky's laboratory rather than in the light of

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the evidence.) In spite of all this, Thorn still believes in the mission of the Russian Soul.

After the Revolution, the Russian Soul becomes a split personality. Take the confusing picture in one of Virginia Woolf's essays (1919). She finds the soul the chief character in Russian fiction: ". . . delicate and subtle in Chekhov, subject to an infinite number of humors and distempers, it is of greater volume and depth in Dostoevsky, liable to violent diseases and raging fevers." We go down into Stavrogin, Muishkin, and other Dostoevsky characters "as we descend into some enormous cavern; lights swing about; we hear the boom of the sea; it is dark, terrible, uncharted." Yet in every great Russian writer we seem to discern the features of a saint.

To D. H. Lawrence, Dostoevsky at least was not a saint. Reading *The Idiot* in 1915, he said he was like a rat, "slithering along in hate, in the shadows, and in order to belong to the light, professing love, all love; but his nose is sharp with hate, his running is shadowy and ratlike, he is a will fixed and gripped like a trap. He is not nice." Much later, in a preface written for a special edition of "The Grand Inquisitor," he calls Dostoevsky always perverse, always impure, always an evil thinker—and a marvellous seer. Why are the Russians so popular? Because in "the subjectively-intense-every-man-his-own-hero business, the Russians have carried us to the greatest lengths. The merest scrub of a pickpocket is so phenomenally aware of his own soul that we are made to bow before the imaginary coruscations that go on inside him. That is almost the whole of Russian literature: the phenomenal coruscations of the souls of quite commonplace people." Lawrence, who had no mean gift at persuading quite commonplace people of the phenomenal coruscations of certain other aspects of their being, might have spoken with more respect of Dostoevsky's achievement with the soul.

Steady growth in scholarship in the decades between the wars has had perhaps more to do than changing political climates with making people a little cautious about the Russian Soul. In a new and less easily defined way, the English continued to need it. The young men of the Pink Decade of the '30's, whom Virginia Woolf christened to their annoyance the Leaning Tower young men—those poets, critics and novelists who found the Ivory Towers draughty and went

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down into the warmer streets—did not talk in so many words about the Proletarian Soul. But they did try to fathom it, and relied for guidance upon the new Russia. The English pattern of the Russian Soul in these later years is outside the scope of this article. Perhaps it has left the English stage; V. S. Pritchett referred in 1942, in *The New Statesman*, to "the once notorious Russian Soul." But no one should be surprised, opening a book by some Englishman in this decade, to meet the Russian Soul wandering out into Waterloo Road (to borrow a fancy from Virginia Woolf) asking of life some tremendous question.

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Defense of (Later) Poetry

David Morton

The eye, not wide for wonder—narrowed, squinted
For microscopic vision of elusives;
The mind, contracted to a needle-point,
Taut and athletic, careful and precise,
Footnotes the vision with disjointed data;
The speech different and difficult,
A laboratory notebook, bare, abrupt,
Precipitous, elliptical and terse,
Dispensing with connectives and design:
A mirror of the syntax of this time,
Not yet one world, but many—in collision.

The emperor's clothes suit well the emperor:
The royal purple were a sumptuous lie
To cover what is scarcely rich or royal,
But poor and illegitimate—a bastard
Out of illusion by deliberate greed.
Patches become the monarch better, now;
In this disrupted and unfocused speech,
We have the very sound and sense of him.

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The wide-eyed child that was, the wonder-struck,
Was struck with more than wonder, finally,
And he is slain; and his inordinate speech,
The mighty line, persuasive of large lies,
Turns broken rhythms, with the truth to tell
In quick, oblique refractions of strange suns. . .
The wide eye narrows, and the child gives way
To diagnostician deep in therapies,
Recording data on the angular bones.

Yet, poetry, the agonist, survives:
The rhythm, broken and sweet—
Stumbling, where the hurt mind
Sets the impeding stones,
For the distracted feet—
Now lost and nearly blind,
The rhythm, broken and sweet,
Nearly atones,

Till such a time as man is healed and whole
And fit for more than patches—emperor,
Wearing of right the purple, and affording
A syntax for magnificence again.

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Jules Romains Despairs of Men of Good Will

Aaron Schaffer

IN THE hope of keeping the world from again being plunged into the darkness of total war, sober men are calling for a display of good will between individuals and between peoples. What are the chances that these pleas will be heeded? None whatsoever, if we are to accept the conclusions of the monumental *roman-fleuve* of Jules Romains, *les Hommes de bonne volonté*. Because of the gravity of the question, it may be worth our while to attempt to abstract from the twenty-seven volumes of this recently completed novel its author's treatment of the role of men of good will in our time—and to ask ourselves whether his depressing conclusions are wholly warranted.

In his preface to the opening volume of the novel, Romains states that he looks upon it as the beginning of what will probably be the principal achievement of his life and the focus of ideas which he has been harboring since the outset of his literary career. The work is intended to reflect a "vision of the modern world," of a world in which "myriads of human acts are projected in every direction by the indiscriminate forces of self-interest, passion, even of crime and madness. . . . But among all these acts, some are willed with a certain degree of intention by pure hearts and for reasons which seem to correspond to the original designs of the Spirit. . . . Everything happens as though the Whole had willed to move, however clumsily.

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The passages from the last two volumes of Romains' novel are taken from the Gerard Hopkins translation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf). All other translations are Mr. Schaffer's.

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And in this welter of acts of will, there must certainly be some that are good." The preface concludes with the hope that those who perform these latter acts, the Men of Good Will, "may some day be assembled by a message of good tidings and find a sure way of recognizing one another so that this world, of which they are the reward and the salt, may not perish."

The author begins his quest, then, in a relatively hopeful frame of mind. He takes us with him over a period of exactly twenty-five years of recent history. The opening sentence of the first volume, *The Sixth of October*, informs us that we are in the year 1908, and the longest chapter of the last volume, *The Seventh of October*, is entitled "A Picture of Europe in 1933." The work, similar in some respects to Balzac's *Human Comedy* and Zola's *Rougon-Macquart Family*, differs from them in the fact that, as we learn from the preface, "it is not centered on an individual; its true subject is society itself." In its pages appear representatives of all classes, most of them fictional. Of the historical ones, some are still living.

In this multitude of characters are a few men of good will, "noble by nature, those whose nobility springs from natural right." Notable among these are the idealistic schoolmaster, Sampeyre, for whom, after his death, a Montmartre street is named, and his disciple, Clanricard, also a schoolmaster and equally idealistic—the character who helps Romains bring his work full circle by delivering, in the first volume, a talk to his pupils on the dangers of war and, in the concluding volume, a very similar talk to another generation of school children.

The most important of the men of good will are Jean Jerphanion and Pierre Jallez, portraits and mouthpieces of Romains himself. In the quarter-century covered by the novel, we accompany these two intimate friends and brothers in spirit from their entrance into the Ecole Normale in October, 1908, to the peaks of their respective careers. In 1933, Jerphanion, after some ten years in the Chamber of Deputies, serves for one month as minister for foreign affairs, and Jallez has become a highly successful novelist.

The drive behind these careers is an ardent love of peace. This is particularly true of Jerphanion, whose chief purpose in entering politics is the desire to play a part in the outlawing of war. Though

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he had tried to delude himself, during the years preceding 1914, with the hope that the European nations would not permit themselves to be dragged into armed conflict, he had swallowed his disappointment and fought bravely through the battle of Verdun. While serving in the army of occupation in the Rhineland and concerned for the future of his infant son, he writes his friend a letter in which he asks: "Where shall we be in 1937?" The answer to this question is foreshadowed in two lengthy conversations in which the pious wish expressed by Romains in his preface is replaced first by doubt and then by utter despair.

The first of these conversations takes place in 1928, when the evidences of the spread of fascism have become so ominous that the two friends, now aged forty, take stock of their ambitions and achievements, and give vent to expressions of bitter disillusionment. Jerphanion, obsessed as he is with the idea of "preventing another general catastrophe," sees little reason for hope. After reminding Jallez that he has not entered politics for money or honor or power, but only because of his faith in certain ideas, he declares: "It is a matter of prime importance to me that my ideas have a chance—a reasonable chance. I have never asked that they be assured of victory in advance. I am quite willing to have them encounter obstacles. I am even willing to admit that the odds are against me, as those of us who fought at Verdun had to admit. But if, in that battle, we had reached the point of admitting that we had no chance whatsoever, we should have stopped fighting."

It is in this mood that he asks: "In our concept of the general direction which mankind is taking, isn't the place of rational good will becoming more and more precarious and straitened?" For, he comments, "It is impossible for a person of any intelligence not to realize that, in the world of today, a large number of very powerful forces . . . do not seem to be tending . . . in the direction of creating for tomorrow or the day after a better world."

Developing this notion by reference to the destructive power of our machines of war, he insists that he must know "whether we can materially affect this state of things, whether we who govern nations are of any use, or whether we are merely corks of different colors floating on the surface of the currents." For him, the "central

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drama of the epoch" lies in the answer to the question which he bluntly addresses to Jallez: "Do you think, with the knowledge of life which you have now acquired, that reason and good will can have any appreciable influence on the course of events?"

Jallez, anxious for the spiritual well-being of his friend, tries to lessen his suffering by giving reasons for a more hopeful outlook. Admitting his own fear of the blind forces which seem to be carrying the world toward the abyss, he emphasizes the role of the human mind in the development of society, and puts his faith in what he calls "a very slow penetration of the masses by ideas, followed by a groping, a crawling of mankind toward a certain ideal which has some chance of being related to that of the wise men of all times."

And now we are in the year 1933, and we have entered upon an era of what Jallez defines as "historical catastrophe." The outlook is so black that he has decided to escape the world of politics and history by engaging in a series of scabrous erotic adventures in various European centers of culture obviously intended to reflect the decay of conventional moral standards and the futility of the intellectual and spiritual life in the face of impending doom. Jerphanion, still loyal to his ideals as a man of good will, is named minister for foreign affairs in one of the Daladier cabinets. His predecessor, Gurau, has resigned because of his refusal to be a party to the Four-Power Pact proposed by Mussolini and eagerly accepted by Ramsay MacDonald. Gurau, together with most of his fellow-countrymen, is unable to believe that anything good can come for France and for the world at large from an understanding with Hitler and Mussolini.

Jerphanion, little as he relishes the thought of entering into such an understanding, believes, for the moment at least, that there is no other way of preserving the peace of Europe. His term of office, however, is soon over; after only one month, he is convinced that a Four-Power Pact would undermine the authority of the League of Nations and alienate most of France's continental allies. His state of mind at this juncture is clearly reflected in the second of the two conversations referred to above, between Jerphanion, who is returning to Paris from a meeting of the Radical-Socialist Party in Vichy, and the pilot of the governmental plane usually placed at the dis-

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posal of Premier Daladier. The conclusions he voices as to the role of men of good will in 1933 are those of Romains himself, who has by now completely abandoned the hope expressed in the preface to the novel.

"There are some things," says Jerphanion, "one just can't put into words. You'll never guess the conclusion I've come to—or almost come to: that for men like ourselves, like Daladier, I mean, and Paul-Boncour and myself, there's no longer any solution possible."

Here a lengthy parenthesis is necessary. In linking Jerphanion's name with that of Paul-Boncour, Romains has played a trick on history that most well-informed readers are bound to consider irritating. As one reads Romains' account of the reaction of the French Foreign Office to the suggestion of a Four-Power Pact, one cannot help asking oneself who were the historic counterparts of Gurau and Jerphanion. An examination of the files of any good newspaper for the year 1933 reveals the following facts: there were in that year three French cabinets, whose Prime Ministers were, respectively, Edouard Daladier, Albert Sarraut, and Camille Chautemps. *In every one of these cabinets*, the minister for foreign affairs was Joseph Paul-Boncour (who is, therefore, Gurau, Jerphanion, and himself rolled into one).

More than that, there seems at no time to have been any intention on Paul-Boncour's part to resign his post because of an unwillingness to be associated with the Four-Power Pact. In Romains' novel, Jerphanion discusses with Jallez and other friends, on Monday, May 8, his determination to resign, and he delivers his resignation to President Lebrun at a cabinet meeting the following morning. One finds nothing in the Paris *Temps* for the week of May 8 to show that any such notions were running through Paul-Boncour's mind at the time. Only Romains himself knows why he so completely distorted such easily verifiable facts of history. One possible explanation may be that, in the light of subsequent events known to everybody at the time Romains was writing this volume of his novel, he was implying that Paul-Boncour should have resigned as first Gurau and then Jerphanion resigned, for the good of France in particular and the world in general. In any case, in 1933, when Hitler had just seized dictatorial power, there seems little evidence

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to prove that Daladier and Paul-Boncour were as convinced that there was "no longer any solution possible" as Jerphanion says he and they were. The whole curious episode seems to be part of a system of *ex post facto* reasoning which Romains applied to much of the latter half of his novel.

"No solution possible," continues Jerphanion, "so far as what is really important goes—that's to say, the situation of the world today and in the next few years—or, in other words, the fate of France, which is involved in it." True enough, very few people in Europe, with the exception of the Nazis and the Fascists, were happy over what was occurring in Germany in 1933. But it took the flouting of the Treaty of Versailles with regard to rearmament and the Rhineland, the annexation of Austria, and the occupation of Czechoslovakia, to induce the totally hopeless frame of mind here given expression by Jerphanion.

Proceeding with his litany of despair, Jerphanion tells the pilot of the plane that he has discovered a "very simple, very awkward truth." This truth is "that there are moments in man's history when he can do *nothing*. Just that. All that remains to him is to endure stoically what is coming to him, if he can. . . . In those moments good will, reason, intelligence, and energy have about as much value as they would have just before a liner goes down on fire a thousand miles from land."

The obvious answer to this is that these qualities, as displayed by the Allies, did have value, since they put out the fire. Whether they will be able to prevent another fire from breaking out remains to be seen.

Jerphanion concludes, after repeating that "there are moments in human history, epochs, with which it is impossible to deal," by asking: "At such times what can the man of good will, what can those whom Renan styled 'the friends of God,' do?" And he answers his own question: "There is left—only the attitude of stoic resignation, or, if you insist, the mystic feast, with a few beloved brethren, in the depths of the catacombs."

As though he were not content with putting into the mouth of one of his principal men of good will such admissions of total frustration, Romains reinforces them, as it were, through the medium

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of another, not quite so important man of good will—the school principal, Clanricard. It will be recalled that this visionary found himself obliged to discourse to school children, on two widely separated occasions, on the gloomy fate overhanging Europe. After the second of these talks he goes out for a long walk through the streets of Montmartre in order to ponder the questions that are tormenting him. He thinks of his revered master Sampeyre, who had suffered the same intellectual agonies before his death; and, as he approaches the street which had recently been named for Sampeyre, he asks himself what answer to these problems he might catch from beyond the grave:

> Clanricard was walking more slowly now. He must be sure of that answer, must catch its accents clearly, before he reached the end of the street—and the distance that remained was so very short. He tried to empty his mind of all thought, to make himself responsive to the promptings of that other voice. He was conscious now of nothing but the misty sunlight above these northern Paris streets. . . . Nothing in all of that at odds with the spirit of the place and of the Presence that informed it, nothing to set a barrier between his listening ears and the wise voice of him who was no more. He had reached the end of the street, but still no answer came. Perhaps there was no answer, or none that could satisfy his questing thoughts. And yet, as he moved onwards, he was conscious of a sort of inner peace, which came of no reasoned argument.

No answer comes—through reason or intuition, through intelligence or mystic communion. Perhaps there is no answer—this is the conclusion of twenty-seven volumes and eight thousand pages.

Can such a conclusion prove satisfying, either artistically or philosophically, to the reader who has possessed the intellectual stamina to persevere through these eight thousand pages? This question need not imply that the reader had a right to expect a happy ending to Romains' novel. Quite the contrary; for if Romains has proved himself (after the fact) a prophet of doom, there is very little in what has happened during the past fifteen years to give him the lie. It will be remembered that, at the end of the first World War, Jerphanion asked himself and his friend Jallez where we would be in 1937. Romains already knew, when he was writing this, the answer to the question: France was rapidly lapsing into a state of hopelessness, and the world was on the threshold of a frightful war.

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And when he was at work on the concluding volumes of his novel, he knew that, despite the charters and conferences of the war years, men in high places continued, after the surrender, to be so reluctant to change their patterns of thinking that war between the two mightiest nations of all times, allies so short a while ago, soon began to be openly talked about, not to say publicly advocated, and that the face of the globe remained marred by running sores which must nauseate all men of good will. We are again (or still) in the situation of Jerphanion, who wanted, at all costs, "to prevent another general catastrophe," and we are asking ourselves where we shall be—not twenty years hence, but next year, if not even next month.

No, we had no right to expect a happy ending to Romains' novel. But we did have the right to expect that it would not end on a note of abject surrender. At the very least, we might have expected Jerphanion to admit either that the wrong men of good will were in positions of power in France and England in 1933, or that most of those in power were not men of good will at all. The reason for Romains' refusal to put this admission into the mouth of his *alter ego* may not be far to seek.

As we have seen, Romains stated that the "vision of the modern world" reflected in his novel had engaged his thoughts since the beginning of his literary career. The erection of the colossal edifice must certainly have required the preparation of an elaborate set of blueprints. Minor proofs of the orderliness with which Romains proceeded in his task are to be found in the facts that each volume ends with a summary of its contents, that each second volume adds to this summary a detailed index of all the characters, even the most insignificant, who have thus far appeared or been mentioned, and that volume 25 opens with a *dramatis personae* which lists all the characters who had been earlier introduced, "with a short summary of the antecedent action in which each has participated."

Moreover, it must again be emphasized that in his preface Romains expressed the hope that men of good will everywhere might unite to save the world. It is clear that, at that time, Romains was sure he knew the answers to Europe's problems; indeed, he had been traveling the length and breadth of the continent stating these answers in public lectures. And finally, these answers, it should be pointed out,

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were quite acceptable to the Nazis, for Romains was more than once an honored guest in Hitler Germany. So great was his self-assurance that, after the outbreak of war, he published an inordinately vain book called *The Seven Mysteries of Europe*, which more than implied that everything could have been settled amicably if only the rulers and statesmen of Europe (including, of course, the Nazis) had been willing to be guided by the wisdom of Jules Romains.

When he began the composition of his novel, then, Romains was almost certainly planning to end it with some earth-shaking message which would hasten the arrival of the millenium. He could not, in 1930, have foreseen with any certainty that Hitler would within three years set himself up as one of the most absolute dictators ever to rule over the destinies of millions of men—and that, within ten years, he would have plunged the world into the most disastrous of all wars. In other words, Romains reckoned without the forces of history.

Unlike other historical novelists, who have been content to draw their materials from the past and could thus set down generally accepted facts which they felt free to interpret and even to distort as best suited their aesthetic ends, Romains was operating on history in the making. And he was working on two juxtaposed levels which, moreover, somewhat overlapped. He was writing about the period from 1908 to 1933 during the period from 1930 to 1946. Beginning in what he conceived to be a purely dispassionate and objective manner, he found himself before long in a world and especially in a country darkened by economic depressions, political upheavals, and the ever-growing clouds of war.

When, at about the time of the French *débâcle* in 1940, he made his way to the Western Hemisphere, the totalitarian implications of his Unanimistic theories and writings, as well as his previous friendly relations with prominent Nazis, rendered him *persona non grata* to staunch democrats in the United States and Mexico. Though he attempted to explain away his rather equivocal position, he could not keep from the volumes of *Men of Good Will* published in exile an ever more strident tone of acidity and futility.

Gone now are the objectivity and dispassionateness of the earlier volumes. The historical perspective has become blurred, so that he

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forgets that he is writing about the thoughts and behavior of people in 1928 and 1933 and attributes to them thoughts and behavior of 1939 and 1943. Personal bias and prejudices are discernible: a noticeable lack of sympathy for the Russian experiment, an unwillingness to condemn Nazi atrocities until the very last volumes (written after the surrender).

The conclusion appears warranted that, since history had refused his answer, Romains decided to make one part of himself, Jallez, wish for "a collective life that might remain aloof from politics and from history for long periods," and the other half, Jerphanion, declare that "there are moments in man's history when he can do nothing." A more courageous conclusion and one that would have been infinitely more appropriate to so ambitious a "vision of the modern world" would have insisted that men of good will have no right to remain aloof from history and from politics, and that they must continue to try to do something positive until the very crack of doom. Indeed, one has the uneasy feeling that, had the Nazis succeeded in their purpose of world conquest, the novel would have had an entirely different conclusion.

And so, in the final analysis, the twenty-seven volumes of *les Hommes de bonne volonté* are an acceptance, on the part of their author, of that bankruptcy of reason which underlay Naziism and Fascism. That this seems to represent a betrayal by Romains of his earlier liberal ideals is, in itself, not reprehensible; for surely an intelligent man has the right to change his mind as the result of his experiences and cogitations. But it is regrettable, for the reason that it causes what began as a magnificent fresco of an entire generation to degenerate into a daguerreotype of one embittered, splenetic man. The "message of good tidings" proves to be only a counsel of despair, at a time when mankind stands most desperately in need of even the slightest words of encouragement. The world, once again perhaps on the brink of disaster, can ill afford to accept Jules Romains' dictum that, in moments of gravest crisis, good will, reason, intelligence and energy have no value—unless, of course, it is resigned to return to its primeval place among the spiral nebulae.

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Thomas Davidson: Educator for Democracy

Louis I. Dublin

IT WAS in the fall of 1899 that I first met Thomas Davidson. One of my classmates at the New York City College (I was then a junior) told me of a remarkable man who was conducting classes for young men and women at the Educational Alliance on the lower East Side in New York. Here was one center in the city where immigrants and their children were discovering the best there was of culture and opportunity in the new country. Davidson was meeting a group each week, and leading them in the appreciation of great literature. He was more than lecturing—he was inviting questions and stirring his listeners to exciting discussion. His talks, in the best prophetic tradition, were concerned with fundamentals of living and thinking. This was like heaven-sent manna to the idea-hungry young people caught in the intellectual ferment of the East Side in the late '90's. Mr. Davidson, I learned, was also meeting on Sunday mornings with a small group of young men, most of them students of the college, to discuss problems of history and philosophy. Would I come and join this group? I was delighted.

My first impression was of a man of more than average height, of a large and robust build. His voice was vital and musical. I was struck with his magnetic personality, his warm friendliness, the aliveness of his eyes and his beautiful full-bearded face. There was an aura of unmistakeable greatness about the man. This impression was strengthened during the discussion, in which he followed the

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Socratic method of drawing out the young men. At the close of the session, I was introduced to him. He was cordial. Would I join the group and take an assignment in the program? Before I could object, he had placed his broad hand across my brow as if to measure the cranial content, and allowed with a smile that I would do.

Soon I was invited to visit him at his home; later came a series of such visits, and wonderful talks. He probed into my interests and plans, and invited me to join the larger circle who were reading Goethe's *Faust* with him on Saturday nights. Finally, to crown all his friendliness, came an invitation to spend the summer as his guest at the Glenmore School of the Culture Sciences, which he had founded in the Adirondacks.

By this time, I was well aware of the good fortune that had come my way. I had learned something of the history and background of Thomas Davidson. He was a Scotsman, now close to sixty, and a bachelor. He was an itinerant scholar, a free lance in the academic world, now making New York his home. Educated at the University of Aberdeen and in the German universities, he had early developed the habit of travel. Much as he was sought after as a teacher by the leading universities, he had never learned to conform or to stay put very long. He had taught first in Scotland, later in England, then in Canada and in St. Louis. In that city, he came under the influence of William T. Harris, a leading American educator and philosopher who later became our first federal commissioner of education. Then he turned up in Athens studying archeology; in Rome, writing on medieval church history and philosophy; back in London, founding the Fellowship of the New Life, an offshoot of which became the famous Fabian Society; and finally back in the United States establishing a similar fellowship in New York. In 1889, he opened his Glenmore School of the Culture Sciences.

Through his travels and studies, he had acquired an extraordinary command of languages and their literatures. He told me he could read about forty. He was a master of the classic tongues, and he could speak German, French, Italian and modern Greek fluently. He had written at least twenty volumes and hundreds of learned articles in the fields of philosophy, archeology and education. He had interpreted the spirit of Greek sculpture in his *Parthenon Frieze*

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and Other Essays. His translation and commentary on the philosophy of Cardinal Rosmini had brought this great Catholic thinker to the attention of the English-speaking world. His volumes on Aristotle and Rousseau as educators were widely used. His *History of Education* gained immediate recognition in academic circles. At the time I first met him, he was generally acknowledged as one of the leading scholars in the world. Yet he carried his great learning lightly, and never bore down on those who were at the foot of the intellectual ladder.

How he had come to this East Side class was of particular interest to me. A year earlier, in the fall of 1898, he had been invited by the director of the People's Institute of New York to give a series of four lectures to a working-class audience meeting in Cooper Union. As it happened, the Institute hall was not available during the weeks of December, when Mr. Davidson was free. Thereupon, the director arranged to have the lectures given in the auditorium of the Educational Alliance. The course was on "The Problems Which the Nineteenth Century Hands Over, for Solution, to the Twentieth." His friends had tried to dissuade him from his purpose because, they said, the audience would, in all probability, be made up largely of Marxian socialists who would heckle him or at least draw him into unprofitable disputes. But Mr. Davidson was not one to be frightened off easily. He was, as he later said, prepared to answer questions raised in good faith. He always found that he could trust the intellectual integrity and intelligence of working people.

The lectures went off very well, with increasing interest and approval of the audience, but toward the end of the course a dramatic incident occurred. Mr. Davidson had been stressing the importance of a liberal education as a preparation for life in the new century. In the course of the question period after the lecture, a young man arose and made this comment: "It is all very well for you to talk about education for the breadwinners. But how can people like us who work nine or ten and sometimes more hours a day, who come home tired, who have few books and no one to guide or instruct us, obtain a liberal education?"

Mr. Davidson's reply was significant. To quote his own words (which he recorded later): "That is just the chief educational prob-

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lem which the nineteenth century hands over to the twentieth. Of course, you do not expect me to solve it. But one thing I can do for you of a practical sort. I cannot procure for you shorter hours, or make you less tired at night. I cannot supply you with home conveniences or with books; but one thing I can and will do if you care to have me. If you will organize a club of people who are really in earnest and who will work with all their might, I will devote one evening a week to it."

In this way, a group was formed of young and earnest men and women who met with Mr. Davidson at least once a week during the early part of 1899. During these months he organized and led a class in history and sociology. With the aid of some of his academic friends and some of the more advanced students of the group, instruction was given in Latin and Greek, in algebra, geometry, universal history and natural science. As the group grew in numbers, Mr. Davidson developed a very warm affection for them, and they responded with equal warmth.

When he left for his Glenmore School of philosophy in the Adirondacks in May, 1899, the class was already firmly established. It was agreed that the instruction would continue through the summer, that the leaders in the work would keep in touch with him by correspondence, and that he, in turn, would write a weekly letter to be read to the entire group. In this way, an even closer bond was established between teacher and students. Both began to see the larger implications in what had been developed. Mr. Davidson realized that he had laid foundations for something that had been taking shape in his mind for many years: namely, a fellowship devoted to a better way of life, founded on the mutual respect of the members, and on a keen desire to learn the truth and to live by it.

II

This was the picture in which I, one of the newer and younger members of the Class, found myself in the early summer of 1900 when I was asked to be a guest at Glenmore. What a summer it was! I arrived in June while Mr. Davidson was still much alone. My reception was as warm as the setting was beautiful. The School was located on a clearing on the side of Mount Hurricane, near Keene.

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A few buildings—a lecture hall, the dormitories and Mr. Davidson's study—stood on various levels on each side of the birch trail leading to the summit. From anywhere on the grounds, a superb view of the Adirondacks spread from Mount Marcy, across the Gothics, to White Face. To the impressionable boy who had rarely left the confines of the crowded and dirty city, the setting was inexpressibly beautiful.

Soon came the regular summer visitors—a number of other young people from the East Side class, and the teachers who shared with Mr. Davidson the several courses. Among them were Charles M. Bakewell, then professor of philosophy at Bryn Mawr and later at Yale, and Professor William Allan Neilson, who later became the distinguished president of Smith College. Professor William James of Harvard and William T. Harris, the U. S. commissioner of education, occupied cottages on the property. Young John Dewey, who had already made his mark as a philosopher and teacher, had a cottage a few hundred feet away. The Willy House, a mile up the road toward Keene, served as an attractive center for Mr. Davidson's friends who preferred to live comfortably while they attended his lectures. Here in the mountains was a center where great minds met and rich ideas were generated. Here the young man and the few other young people from the Class found themselves catapulted into the midst of the most creative thinking in America.

As the season advanced, Mr. Davidson set aside an hour every morning to read Dante's *Divine Comedy* with us. Each student was assigned a number of lines to translate and to comment upon. Not one of us knew Italian—but we had studied French and some Latin; and with dictionary and commentary, but principally with his guidance, we soon read with considerable ease. Before the summer was out, we had finished the thirty-four cantos of the "Inferno," and had absorbed a good bit of medieval history in the bargain. One of the boys who had both more scholarship and more energy than the rest, got started on Arabic and was introduced to the intricacies of the *Koran*. For such was the skill of Mr. Davidson as a teacher that he could quickly remove the barrier of language, could arouse enthusiasms and show the way of true scholarship. He set his sights

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high. He had faith in the ability of the young people, and they strove to meet his expectations. It was an extraordinary exhibition of what a great teacher could do with young people, once the spark had been touched off.

Most important of all during this momentous summer were our opportunities to talk with Mr. Davidson. The evenings were ours. Before a good fire on the hearth we ranged ourselves, some on the floor at his feet. Here was no formality. He loved poetry passionately, and would recite a wide range of his favorites as the spirit moved him. Particularly delightful were his bouts with his fellow Scot, Professor Neilson, in reciting or singing their native ballads. His voice would then be resonant and full, his eyes twinkle, and the room would fill with his unbounded laughter. On other occasions, he spoke with great earnestness, as if to impart a message, to share a secret with us.

The young men and women of New York's East Side gave him much courage. He was particularly impressed with the capabilities as a leader of Morris R. Cohen, one of our group. He told us that of all those whom he had at various times attempted to reach, we understood him and his high purpose best. This was nothing less than to launch through the education of the masses a better way of living, a better world. He had started similar movements earlier in the several Fellowships of the New Life, both in England and in America, but they had all failed him. Now, however, he fully believed that this group of ardent young people, guided by him, could accomplish anything they set their hearts and minds on. Once prepared, they could dedicate their lives to the service of the people —helping to educate them, to channel their energies in cooperative effort, to lift the sights of other lives as theirs had been lifted. Mr. Davidson had a faith that moved mountains. He wrote to a friend that the whole of his long life had been a preparation for the work with this group, and for what might flow from that work.

Every week that summer, as in the previous one, he sent a long letter to his class in New York, which by then numbered many hundred. In these letters, very much as in our conversations at Glenmore, he developed his gospel of life and service—of practical beneficence and the part he hoped we would play therein. These letters,

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later published by his friend, Professor Bakewell, constitute an extraordinary human document. They contain criticisms of the essays sent to him by the members, and—even more important—his views on a host of subjects which were of deep concern to the young people of the class. He literally poured out his heart to them, and gave them a distillation of his wisdom and philosophy.

An educational activity of the first order was then developing in his mind—a pioneer Breadwinners' College. As a lifelong student of education, Mr. Davidson was critical of the current trends in American schools and colleges. In his judgment, they suffered from two serious defects: They reached too few of the adult working population. And what was perhaps equally unfortunate, their curricula and methods were still too rooted in the medieval, class-bound view of life. What he wanted to establish was a demonstration center from which would radiate teachers and workers for the cultural education of the masses. In this way he hoped to bring into existence a new brotherhood which might exercise a profound influence for good.

All during the summer of 1900, he continued his usual labors, despite a serious and painful illness. He made no complaint, but kept going with his usual even temper. In his conversations with us at this time, he was more inclined than ever to stress his profound conviction of immortality. By the beginning of September, his condition took a desperate turn. One of the older members of the class took him to Montreal, where after a major operation he died on the fourteenth of September at the age of sixty. His body lies in a birch grove close to his study at his beloved Glenmore. As his friend, Professor Felix Adler, said of him at the burial: "He has sown thought seeds that will flourish in many hearts. He has helped to shape lives that will never lose the nobler imprint he has given them. He has kindled the torch of ideals that will never wholly be extinguished."

III

Memorable as was our brief living contact with the man, his teaching and inspiration generated even greater power after his death. The young men and women of the Davidson Class knew

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they must carry on. They were the custodians and executors of a great idea. Virtually without funds, but with the determination and with their leader's recent words to guide them, they set about organizing a teaching center for working men and women on the lower East Side. The Educational Alliance generously supplied the rent for a small building.

Before long, the Breadwinners' College was launched with a corps of teachers and some hundreds of students. Classes in English, mathematics, philosophy, literature and science were led by the college men and women who had met Mr. Davidson, and by a number of older and better qualified teachers, who were interested in what was going on. The students brought together here were an amazing lot. Most of them were recent immigrants who worked in nearby sweatshops and factories. After a hard day spent at their trade, they would put in two or more hours at the school. In this way, many poor and uneducated young people were coached to enter high school and college and were started on careers of dignity and usefulness. All had their horizons widened, and realized the possibilities of a better and fuller life in the new country.

The enthusiasm which was the very life of our venture was akin to that of the early religious orders. The young people, taking themselves with great seriousness, launched activities which would have frightened older and more sophisticated people. We never considered the obstacles to the success of our effort. We taught and tutored all who came to the school. Some of us organized handicraft work and recreation for neighborhood children. Several of the younger women interested themselves in guiding wayward girls. Everyone made a pal of some newly-come immigrant who was struggling to learn the language and the ways of the new land. Service to families in need, including the bathing of children and the scrubbing of floors, was quietly carried on by the more devoted members. As the renown of the School spread through the East Side, it grew in membership and influence. But, unfortunately, no one of the group had the administrative skill or the prestige to obtain the necessary funds to cope with the increasing cost of running the School. After eight years of operation, characterized by heartening progress of the students and by great sacrifice on the part of the

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leaders, it became difficult to conduct the School, and it finally closed as a going concern.

Nevertheless, some remarkable results were accomplished. The intellectual life and the spirit of the East Side were leavened. Hundreds of young working people were directed toward an education, had their ambitions stirred, and learned the essence of good citizenship. Individuals of talent were discovered and put on their way to fulfillment. I can well remember the emergence of one man who fell to my lot, Samuel Shipman. An unprepossessing lad, recently arrived from the other side and working in a clothing factory, he was prepared in a relatively few years for entrance into Columbia. Here he soon made a name for himself as a student of the drama. He later became one of the country's leading playwrights.

Many of our students became physicians or lawyers, and leaders in the community. Others found their place as inspired teachers in the school system of the city. Of the Davidson boys and girls who have achieved distinction, the most noteworthy career was that of Professor Morris R. Cohen. A great teacher at the College of the City of New York, he made a deep impress on two generations of students. He served as President of the American Philosophical Society; lectured at our leading universities; and wrote eloquently on the philosophy of the law and on a wide range of other topics, always as an expounder of liberal thought. His recent death evoked much the same generous response from scholars and the press as had followed that of his friend and teacher in 1900. Many saw in Professor Cohen's career a striking American saga—how a poor immigrant boy, benefiting from public education and the free spirit of the country, could become a leader in American thought and action.

Altogether, the original group and their immediate contacts have with few exceptions maintained in their lives an abiding interest in what is good and true. It is a striking illustration of the vitality of the work done in the School, that the pupils and teachers of those eight years have continued to meet annually to this very day under the aegis of the Thomas Davidson Society. For years, they have brought their children into the picture as second generation members. Thomas Davidson is still a living force among a group of people very few of whom ever saw or heard him.

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IV

Such was the influence of the man. What was the secret of his power? How was he able to accomplish what he did? It was not his learning, impressive as that was. He himself was inclined to minimize the importance of his scholarship—for, as he once said, it cramped his creative work as a thinker. Certainly, it was not his wealth or station in life. He had little interest in either. Life's deepest satisfactions for him were drawn from the spiritual, and not from the material realm. Looking back over the years and considering what was accomplished in so short a time, I have often thought that his extraordinary power came directly from his love of people and from his devotion to democracy.

Mr. Davidson had a great gift for making friends. You felt when you first met him that he had a high regard for you, that you were worthwhile. The farmer from whom he bought his Adirondack acres remarked that Mr. Davidson's hand was stretched out farther to greet you than any other man's he knew. Friendship with him was on the highest possible plane. In a letter to a member of the class, he wrote, "If I have drawn out a spark of your affection, I will guard it as the most sacred of things." Not quite twenty years earlier, in the London fellowship days, he had written in much the same vein to another young friend—this time Havelock Ellis. In the early '90's, young Richard Cabot of Boston studied with Davidson, and developed a social philosophy which vitalized his long and useful career as a physician. Befriending promising young people and directing their energies into useful channels were the habit of his life.

This attitude was not merely the expression of a warm personality. It was rather part and parcel of a matured conviction. The worth of the individual man and woman was the cornerstone of Mr. Davidson's philosophy. "The task of the centuries," he said, "has been to convince people that they are ends in themselves." The world for him was a democracy of sentient individuals, animated by a desire for the best, and capable of realizing for themselves the highest satisfactions. He was devoted to America because, as he often said, this concept of the dignity of the individual had its flowering here. He was completely absorbed in education, for it was through educa-

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tion, and especially workers' education, that he saw the level of democracy raised. He was intent on enriching the cultural content of people. What he deplored most in the condition of the poor was not their material want but their poverty of mental and spiritual goods. These could readily be supplied, he thought, through association with the great of history. "One need not be rich to share the mind and heart of Plato, of Vergil, of Dante, or Shakespeare," he said. It was through such adult education that he planned to help working people to measure up to the possibilities of democracy. "A leveler upwards of men," William James called him. Little wonder that many flocked to him and were lifted up by his message and missionary zeal.

William James, in his memoir on Davidson, has well summarized the qualities of the man: "If one asks, now, what the value of Thomas Davidson was, what was the general significance of his life, apart from his particular books and articles, I have to say that it lay in the example he set to us all of how, even in the midst of this intensely worldly social system of ours, in which each human interest is organized so collectively and so commercially, a single man may still be a knight-errant of the intellectual life, and preserve full freedom in the midst of sociability. . . . Asking no man's permission, bowing the knee to no tribal idol, renouncing the conventional channels of recognition, he showed us how a life devoted to purely intellectual ends could be beautifully wholesome outwardly, and overflow with inner contentment. Fortunately, this type of man is recurrent, and from generation to generation literary history preserves examples. But it is infrequent enough for few of us to have known personally more than one example. I count myself happy in having known two. The memory of Davidson will always strengthen my faith in personal freedom."

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Marsh in Winter

Mary Atwater Taylor

Here the marsh stretches, winter-swept and chill,
Thin scales of ice catch and reflect the sun,
Dry rowan berries rattle in the wind,
Hummocks of brittle grass are drab and dun;
Wet fallen leaves of rusty black and brown
Have formed a matted skin, thick fold on fold,
The long-beaked herons stand like frozen wraiths—
The scene is pewter-colored, pallid, old.

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Kidnapped, in Manuscript

Mildred Wilsey

THERE IS no doubt about its being a working copy. The writing, though in ink, is on lined paper, sometimes half-sheets merely, of the size usually found in ledgers, the left edge rough where torn from the backing. Each page is numbered twice, once in ink at the top, and later in pencil at the upper right-hand corner. For the first eight chapters, the author seems uncertain as to his headings, and makes several attempts at wording before he is satisfied. The revision in the text itself is most convincing. Here are crossed-out statements, interlinear and marginal substitutions, paragraphs cut and expanded while the mind blew hot and cold, the critical and imaginative functions pulling together evenly. There are also a very few indications that another reader, Fanny Stevenson, considered the story for its logic and good sense. "Overdone!" she writes, and again, "Overdone, and a little too goody! No weeping, please." The clause, "I could have wept," is then changed to "I felt ashamed to look at him." Perhaps it is a single word which is suspected, a word like "antipathy." "Too strong!" is the verdict; and the offender gives way to "distrust."

What are the secrets behind Stevenson's "exquisite propriety," his "refined common sense"? A reading of the manuscript brings the figure of the living author very close—not the romantic invalid propped against his pillows in bas-relief, nor, in his own words, the "pallid brute that lived like a weevil in a biscuit," but the alert, keen-minded artist, building and breaking, coloring and shading every inch of his creation. That he loved writing as an art, that he was unique among his English contemporaries for his preoccupation with matters of style, is a truism. "There is nothing more disenchanting," he warns

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us, "than to be shown the springs and mechanism of any art." Still, if one happens to like "pulling the musical cart to pieces," here are one hundred and ninety-one pages of writing in progress, a very private showing, indeed, of that mystery—prose composition.

One finds few structural changes in the larger divisions of the writing. Far more numerous are the sentence revisions, though many of these are not at all extraordinary. A sentence that is overloaded is made into two; a final clause of one becomes the opening of another; modifying elements are placed closer to the words modified; the sentence, itself, moves down the page to keep more appropriate company. But there are also changes of greater interest. For an artist should so weave his meaning that each sentence comes "into a kind of knot" and then, after a moment's suspension, unwinds again. Furthermore, each phrase is to be "comely in itself," and "between the implication and the evolution of the sentence," there is to be a "satisfying equipoise of sound."

The manuscript has many sentence revisions which show a conscious attempt to realize this ideal.

I heard Alan and another man whispering in the Gaelic;
and what they said
~~but I~~
was all one to me.

By the chosen arrangement, the moment of suspended interest is held longer, and the final solution comes with more interest. By this means, too, there is a more "satisfying equipoise of sound." The whole trick, of course, was to be so "infinitely various" that nothing would appear too startling or exact, and yet all "give the effect of an ingenious neatness."

Sentence structure is also made responsible for the "life" of the story. The boy David has just wakened to find himself being carried out to sea. He lies on the floor of the cabin and feels the strange action of the ship beneath him:

> The whole world now heaved ~~up with me giddy~~
> giddily up, ~~now sickeningly~~ and now rushed
> giddily downward.

How much truer, the rhythm of the preferred arrangement, and how great the gain in reality.

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"Now, sir, you see for yourself," said the first: "a high fever, no appetite, no light, no meat: you see for yourself what that means."

"I am no conjuror, Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach," said the Captain.

"Give me leave, sir," said ~~[illegible]~~ Riach; "you've a good head upon your shoulders and ~~[illegible]~~ a good ~~[illegible]~~ Scotch tongue to ask with; but I will leave you no manner of excuse: I want that boy taken out of this hole and put in the forecastle."

"What ye may want, sir, is a matter of concern to nobody but yourself," returned the captain; "but I can tell ye that which is to be. Here he is, here he shall bide."

"~~Admitting Well, sir, that is plain~~ Admitting that you have been paid in a proportion," said the other, "I will crave leave humbly to say that I have not. Paid I ~~[illegible]~~ am, and none too much, to be the second officer of this old tub; and you ken my well if I do my best to earn it. But I was paid for nothing more."

"If ye could ~~keep~~ hold back your hand from the tin-pan, Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach, I would have no complaint to make of ye," returned the skipper; "and instead of asking riddles, I make bold to say that ye would keep your breath to cool your porridge. We'll be required on deck," he added, in a sharper note, and set one foot upon the ladder.

But Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach caught him by the sleeve. "Admitting that you have been paid to do a murder..." he began.

Hoseason turned upon him with a flash. "What's that?" he cried. "What kind of talk is that ~~for any decent man~~?"

"It seems it is the talk that you can understand," said Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach, looking him steadily ~~firmly~~ in the face.

"Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach, I have ~~[illegible]~~ sailed with ye three cruises," replied the captain. "In all that time, sir, ~~that came [illegible] gin ye to~~ ye should have learned to know me: I'm a stiff man, and a dour man, ~~and a bold man — I'll be bold to say it —~~: but for what ye say the now — fy, fy — it comes from a bad heart and a black conscience. If ye say the lad will die —"

"Ay, will he!" said Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach.

"Well, sir, and is not that enough?" said Hoseason. "Flit him where ye please!"

Thereupon the captain ascended the ladder; and I, who had lain silent throughout this strange conversation, beheld Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Riach ~~[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible], flinging his hand over his head and [illegible] his fingers in derision. Even in my state of sick depression I perceived two things: that the mate was even now a wheat as two in the [illegible] eye and that, [illegible]~~ turn

This page from the original manuscript of *Kidnapped* (p. 51—HM 2410) is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

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The manuscript is proof of Stevenson's belief in condensation, for it is continually reduced. The simplest illustration is his rejection of the word *very*.

> To be sure, I laughed ~~very~~ ~~hard~~ over this. . . .
>
> "What?" cried the voice ~~very~~ sharply.

And so, the "very dark night" and the "very rusty key" become simply "dark" and "rusty," and, admittedly, there is a change for the better.

Following the same principle, a modifier is omitted if the word modified can possibly stand alone. What need to say that the iceberg was *white*, if it rose *like a fountain out of a moonlit sea?* And is it not better that the lost boy fling himself down on the sands to *weep* than that he fling himself down to weep *bitterly?*

His tales are, of course, full of excellent pictures. Who can forget the color of their sea fights, the gloom of their roads lighted only by the stars or a pocket lantern? But from the excess of images, only the right ones must be chosen. The danger was always "irrelevant orchestration." Details of action needed particular control, and nothing was to be told that could be imagined:

> So he made up my bed on the floor, ~~and made me lie~~
> took
> ~~down upon it~~ and ~~lay down himself~~ the first spell,
> pistol in hand . . .

By such alterations, the progression so necessary to adventure stories goes on unhampered, and the reader is enlivened by being forced to take a part in the story's creation.

The principle of condensation, however, cannot always take precedence over other concerns. The manuscript is, for instance, elaborated to insure story coherence. Such phrases are added as: "But just as he turned," "at this appeal," "by this time." And statements on the condition of the weather or the time of day are inserted with apparent casualness, though one sees later that they have a real bearing on the plot. Further cause for more fullness of writing is the need to distinguish and to specify. Stevenson is adept at such revision. "I scarce knew what I thought," says David, a statement rejected for, "I could scarce grow to believe that the same poor lad who had trudged in the

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dust from Ettrick forest not two days ago, was now one of the rich of the earth." And again, David's clothes that "were beginning to rot" become his stockings which were so "worn through" that his "shanks went naked."

This principle of elaboration, when extended to whole scenes, points up the memorable and key episodes of the story. All the longer scenes in the printed text are the result of such re-writing and expansion; for instance, the sinking of the "Covenant," the murder of Red Fox, and that beautifully written quarrel of David and Alan. By such expansion at the proper moments (and the writer had a canny way of recognizing them), the story gains much in excitement and a sense of life.

The apprentice writer can learn most from Stevenson by watching his word revisions alone. He revises, first of all, for simplicity. He prefers (and here, no doubt, he keeps his boy-audience in mind), the one-syllable word to the longer. *Care* takes the place of *precaution*, *pain* of *agony*, *wet* of *moisten*. He avoids the dead convention, the ready-made phrase, substituting words more immediate and more picturesque. A man who looks *uncomfortable* becomes one who looks *flustered*. The time does not go *very pleasantly* but becomes *quite a festival*.

He takes special thought of verbs. *Walking* is not as good as *moving*, if it is a blind man one is describing. And a deer, unless it is frightened, will not *bolt;* it will probably *trot*. If the statement lacks action of any sort, Stevenson puts it there:

> Sure enough, there was the boat ~~lay away~~ pulling for the town. . . .
>
> It is true I ~~found~~ picked up a third guinea a little after . . .

Much pathos is added by verbal changes as simple as the following:

> . . . a little fragment of a Highland air, which has run in my head from that day to this, and will likely run in my head when I ~~am~~ lie dying.

And seldom, very seldom, is there need for an adverb!

When Stevenson was only eighteen years old, he wrote his mother:

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The day when the boats put out to go home to the Hebrides, the girl here told me there was "a black wind"; and on going out, I found the epithet as justifiable as it was picturesque.

Years later, when he was composing *Kidnapped*, he made the villainous mate, Hoseason, look into David's face "with an odd, black look," having abandoned his first wording, "pretty hard," and his second, "with no expression." His extremely delicate sense of hearing, then, gave him not only an ear for beautiful prose, but infected him with the mannerisms of natural talk. It is this feature which, more than any other, gives liveliness to his tale and makes even very ordinary phrases take on human voice.

> And so he ran on, until ~~I found~~ it came in on me that what he meant . . .

The published story carries footnotes explaining the author's Scottisms, and the manuscript carries many more. Thus, in the margin, it is noted that *pit-mirk* means *dark as pit,* that a *gliff* is a *look* and a *sough* is a *report,* that a *tod* is a *fox*, and a *dunt* is a *stroke*, and a *clour* is a *blow.* " 'James must have tint his wits,' said Alan"; and *tint*, Stevenson adds, means *to lose*, although the editor may let us guess at that one. Generally, these dialect words needed no retouching, but at times even they were second decisiǒns:

> Alan gave way at last but with only half a heart.
> 'It's one of the ~~poorest~~ dowiest countries in Scotland,"
> said he, "There's naething there that I ken but ~~sheep~~ heath,
> and crows, and Campbells."

Only on one occasion does this Highlander's speech level off to the English, and that is during the famous quarrel with David.

> "Do ~~ye ken~~ you know that ~~ye~~ you insult me?" said Alan, very low.

As a result, the tension is greatly heightened, and the tone is sick with an unnatural formality.

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It has been said that Stevenson's writings, broadly traced, progressed from picturesque description to narratives of incident, to fuller characterization—one phase merging into the other. In *Kidnapped,* all three phases are present, and, to judge from Stevenson's own confession, it is the characters of this story who "took the bit in their teeth," turned their backs upon him, and walked away. It need not then be mere coincidence that, beginning with Chapter IX of the manuscript where David meets Alan, the dialogue runs more rapidly and with less interruption than it has done for any other two speakers. Alan Breck, of course, Stevenson took from history—at least, the general outline of him: his appearance, his presence in Appin at this time, and the whole question of his guilt. But only Stevenson made him that wonderful "union of courage and swagger," that lover of tinseled finery and high mettle, that perfect but dangerous comrade of days in the wet heather. The two fell in together almost instinctively. There are a few instances when the author seems to say, "No, Alan, you shall not *pat* David's shoulder; you shall clap it!" or blue-pencils Alan's "It behoves us now to follow, etc.," and substitutes "David man, be brisk!" On the whole, however, there is little revision.

With David, there is more. David is the narrator. If his point of view or manner of expression change but a fraction, the whole narrative will suffer. David is all fiction, and he is a boy. From the appearance of the manuscript, at least, Stevenson worked on him more consciously than on Alan, defining his sensations and reflections so that he might be thoroughly plausible. He is particularly sensitized to David's physical suffering ("doubtless for good reasons," adds Henry James), often improving upon his first decisions with word changes or added material. The quotations below are taken from David's experience in complete exhaustion:

> I say Alan did as I did: Not that ever I looked at
> not to fall
> him, for I had enough to do ~~to kill my feet~~ upon
> the ground; . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I saw Alan knitting his brows at me, and supposed it was in anger: and that give me a pang of light-headed fear, like what a child may have. (*I remember, too, that I was smiling, and could*

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*not stop smiling, had I tried; for I thought it was out of place at such a time.)**

As indicated, Stevenson is never interested in David's physical sensations alone, but keeps him a thinking, feeling character. David's loneliness is always as great as his "cruel, sore throat," and his growing knowledge of himself and the ways of strange men is the story's largest adventure. The boy is made still more disarming by his frankness, by his little confessions of ineptitude or false pride, as well as by the very homespun quality of his courage. Some, though not all, of these effects are due to revision.

One now understands why the tale has been told with simplicity. David, as narrator, must never be allowed to be "in a panic," but must have his head "nearly turned with fear and shame." And his heart must not "die" from fear, but be "like dying." The writer of *Kidnapped* must speak like a boy, while keeping a man's wisdom.

There is just one instance, apparently, where the writer forgot his role: "The ship," David says, "was bound for the Carolinas; and, my children, you must not suppose that I was going to that place merely as an exile." In the left-hand margin, written in Fanny Stevenson's wild scrawl, comes the veto:

No children this is not Aunt Jenny's tales to her children and neices [sic] you destroy the illusion the moment you jump to the present. I am seeing a boy all the time just as he goes along. don't cut his throat or you give me *two* narrators to follow, both man and boy. You were just boasting that he talked like a boy telling his story & now he's an old man!

At risk of exaggerating the error, as well as the importance of "the critic on the hearth," the whole delicious correction has been included. But Stevenson needed no encouragement to revise. From first to last, he was both proud and humble about writing, and untiring as a worker. Chatting quite casually of one of his other stories, he said, "It must, unhappily, be rewritten—too well written not to be." And, it is amazing how such exacting faithfulness made his prose not only more lovely to listen to, but made art for him an honor, and a Scotch boy's unreal adventures a bit of high truth.

*Italics here indicate a later insertion by Stevenson.

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American Scholar Forum . . .

RADIO IN AMERICA

Broadcasting

Lyman Bryson

The leaders of the broadcasting industry and the members of the cultivated public of America are failing in their responsibilities toward each other. Their attitudes toward this failure, however, are quite different. The broadcasters are mostly indifferent to the cultivated public, because it is a small and irascible minority. They prefer to deal with larger groups. The members of the minority, conscious of their superior taste and high demands, have a lot of fun deriding varieties of radio fare never intended for their attention—and dismissing, with equal amounts of dudgeon and ignorance, the whole content of broadcasting in this country.

In one and the same indictment, you can often hear that American broadcasters, because of their commercialism, do too little to inform the public, and also that the British are much luckier to have the government corporation, the B.B.C. Perhaps these people should be forgiven for not knowing that the British intelligentsia often complain that the B.B.C. does very little to inform the public on controversial public issues. They have no responsibility for knowing that public issues of all kinds are discussed on American radio stations with far more freedom and copiousness than ever happens on any government-owned broadcasting system, even the admirable B.B.C.

But I am here raising the question as to how much the cultivated public of America can be forgiven for speaking in this area out of an ignorance they would consider shameful in any other. On this hangs another question: When will the cultivated public of America provide a cultivated and discriminating audience for good broadcasting, and develop the criticism that would sustain it?

Let us begin with the most pertinent facts that are always left out of such discussions. In the first place, broadcasting as a whole, as an institution, bears practically the same

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relation to civilization that printing does. Broadcasting is wasteful, if we think of the use of the air waves as a miraculous privilege that ought to be kept for the beautiful and the important messages among men and nations. So is print. By far the largest part of the wood pulp that we make out of destroyed forests goes to make paper that is covered with advertising and, if you add sports gossip and comics, the residual amount of paper left for serious matters is very small. The fact is that most people are more interested in advertising and sports gossip, and comics, than in serious matters. But when the critical minority we are here discussing, the ones who carry a real responsibility for the serious concerns of civilization, speak of print, they ignore everything but the very small part of its total product that they read.

Broadcasting judged by high standards is wasteful. Printing judged by the same standards is more so. Recently a popular woman's magazine put out a special issue of several million copies, and each copy had 285 pages. The Columbia University Press, which is the largest scholarly print shop in the country and has difficulty getting enough paper, could have run its current business for seventeen years with the paper used in that one issue of one magazine.

The point of this, of course, is not to defend either form of "wastefulness," but to suggest that the differences between popular taste and cultivated taste are much the same in all the arts that have been amplified by mechanical processes, and that they are shown in the same way, i.e., by the tremendous share of the mechanical resources that are successfully monopolized by popular interests.

There are several difficulties in making the truth of this point prevail. One is the inexpugnable illusion of people of developed taste that they know what the public wants. I am quite ready to admit that the commercial broadcaster also does not know what the public wants. The field is littered with costly mistakes. The point is that his mistakes do cost him money. He does his guessing with the benefit of market research, which is quantitatively indicative, and is not trusted as anything else. He works in a system of lethal competitiveness where most scholars could not breathe. He makes his guesses in the teeth of his rivals, not before a silent and subservient class or his admiring colleagues. He frequently goes wrong. But it seems a little irrational to suppose that he is always wrong on the main point, and that the intelligentsia, with not even their reputations at stake, are always right.

To be sure, his methods of judging are largely quantitative. But it is another one of the difficulties in this problem, caused by the ignorance and indifference of the cultivated minority, that the broadcaster seldom gets much support from the special audiences that he consistently tries to include among his friendly consumers. Broadcasters on the networks and in independent stations may use quantitative measures in guessing at merely commercial audiences, but they are by no means bound by these measures. They may, incorrigibly, still hope for large numbers of auditors when they put on frankly highbrow shows. When large numbers do not listen, the programs often stay on the air if they please even a small and not very responsive part of the public.

Some critics will admit at this stage in the argument that this may be so, but the good things are at inconvenient hours. And this point of inconvenience is made also by those few of the cultivated minority who do try to appreciate and criticize honestly what is on the air for their special consumption. It does not really meet this point to say what is quite true: that most of these people will gladly go to a considerable amount of trouble to get to a theater or concert hall on time.

Most of their enjoyment and enlightenment, like most of their labor, is in reading. Books demand of us only that we accommodate ourselves to a space dimension. If they are in the right place they await our pleasure. But broadcasts (like concerts and plays) add another dimension of inconvenience. We must be in the same place with them when we want to enjoy them (the space dimension) and also at the right

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time. Nothing can be done about this; broadcasting cannot transcend its technical limits. Oh, yes . . . but we go to theaters and concerts at night, after a day's work. Why can't we have what we want on the air in the evening? To a much greater extent than is generally realized, people who live anywhere near the large centers can get as much good broadcasting as they are likely to want by very slight adjustments of their daily schedule. What the critical minority has been demanding is that they can have what they want, whenever they want it. Nothing else that they enjoy has this ready-to-use-at-all-times-and-places quality but they have not learned to adjust to the time dimension and, disregarding the new physics that makes time a dimension of any event, they are disturbed. Their children will make the adjustment as a part of their normal education.

However, in spite of all this, the most popular hours are still taken up by the most popular programs. The broadcaster cannot do much about this. He has only a front page to offer at any moment and when more than 40 per cent of all the receiving sets are tuned in, at nine in the evening, he tries to capture a good share of that fabulous audience. And he has found by experience that more people will listen to the same serious program at some other times than they will in the evening hours of family listening and network entertainment.

This is all by way of explanation, or if you like, a plea in defense. It is not very important, however, to defend the broadcasters against the intellectuals. The shoe is on the other foot. When are the intellectuals going to meet the challenge of broadcasting? I do not mean only their chance to take part in serious broadcasting; in fact, most of those who are asked do take their turns at the microphone. They are seldom as skillful at informal talking as they are in other ways of expressing ideas, but they provide a good deal of what is best in serious broadcasting, sharing that burden (or privilege) with the musicians, the workers in drama, and the news men. The unmet challenge is to know something about broadcasting as a combination of new arts, to listen seriously, and to help create serious criticism.

The newspapers and some of the weeklies have radio columns made up mostly of gossip. There are a few good professional critics of broadcasting; they often retreat into satire because they know that there is practically no public that is as much interested in reading a sober and searching criticism of a broadcast of any kind as there is for any second-rate concert or third-rate book or fourth-rate comedy. To say that broadcasts are not worth serious criticism is begging the question in an especially shameful way. Who, out of the world that constantly re-creates and develops the criticism, the canons and the appreciations of the products of print, or the stage (also a technological device) or musical instruments, has ever suggested a list of canons for any form of broadcasting? Most of the wisdom of the world has been developed and communicated in talk, after print as well as in the ages before. Who has ever suggested the standards of broadcast talk? The drama of disembodied voices and music is certainly not the same as the drama of either the flicker in two dimensions or the stage in three. Who has told us how to begin to measure excellence in either the documentary of force or the drama of created emotional themes?

Of course, we know our history of art forms well enough to remember that the art that delights the groundlings of one period is the too-literary art of the next period, and the erudite speciality of a third. The plays of Ben Jonson, the color prints of Hiroshige, the English folk dances, Tewa pots, are all examples of art products that have gone through various metamorphoses of appreciation. But there is no comfort in thinking that the despised broadcasts of today will be art forms tomorrow. It is doubtful that the usual cycle will run itself out in so complicated and widespread a field of popular interest. Besides, we are not looking for the vindication of broadcasts; we are looking for improvement.

The challenge to the members of the cultivated minority that broadcasting offers is that they shall take the trouble—some of

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them at least, while the others wait—to find out what is on the air and then to criticize it not mercifully but intelligently, and with the slowly acquired expertness that makes criticism valuable. Vigorous, severe and systematic criticism is needed, and the blunderbuss will no longer do the work. That kind of shooting is too easy. You are bound to hit something, but it is not likely to be the proper target. The cultivated reader of books gives his time to those that pretend to have some meaning in his world of ideas, and criticizes them on relevant performance. We need critics of broadcasting, in all its diverse forms, who will choose their targets as carefully, and use weapons of precision.

This will not change all broadcast programs, now or ever, into what the critics want, any more than reviews and comments on books diminish or improve most of what comes off the presses. But it will get for those who want better things at least as large a share of the product of broadcasting as equally fastidious consumers now get from print. A little straight thinking and informed demand might get them more. And it will sustain and encourage the artists and producers in radio who are moved by the same desires as move the makers of great things in print or elsewhere. Potential great audiences and potential great art come into reality together by interaction and by mutual stimulation in good faith.

American Radio—What Is Wrong with It

Mahonri Sharp Young

There is nothing wrong with American radio today, except fundamentally. There is nothing wrong with it that money will cure. Technically, it is superb, while in quality it is probably improving. But the spots go right through this leopard.

American radio is a business, as its spokesmen are prone to point out. The industry is in the business of selling time on the air, in the same way, if you will, as a magazine sells space. No magazine would sell all the space between its covers. Yet that is the goal in radio, a goal which the leading network has practically achieved. And it sells this space to the highest bidders, who for reasons beyond the industry's control happen to be the manufacturers of a rather restricted line of consumer goods. If any other organizations cared to bid higher, for example the American Council of Learned Societies, they could have the best listening time.

If there is unsold time, the industry has no objection to presenting material in the public interest; in fact, it has a positive incentive to do so, an incentive supplied by the Federal Communications Commission, which has rather strong views on *The Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licencees*, the title of the recent Blue Book. The theory is that unbought time will be used to compensate for any slight "program imbalance" induced by a few solid hours of soap opera. If the "public interest" material goes on the air at eleven-thirty at night, Sunday noon or during the football game, that is the fault of supply and demand, not the fault of the honest broker.

And let us admit that there are many individuals and some organizations in commercial broadcasting who are genuinely interested in effectuating radio potentialities. Mr. Lyman Bryson and the corporation with which he is connected stand at the very top of this list. Networks spend millions to bring you symphony orchestras on

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a "sustaining" basis, at their own expense; they put highly profitable, highly-rated shows off the air to bring you the President's speech. Let us admit all this and more besides, but let us not stand this pyramid on its point.

Now if you consider radio as a business, it is a very good one, in both senses. What other industry does so much for you, at no cost to you, except in the increased cost of the goods advertised—and even that point is moot. This is the attitude of the National Association of Broadcasters, and it is not negligible. In fact, if you accept its premises, it is unassailable.

There is only one factor which distinguishes radio from the oil business, or the tobacco business: The broadcasters are selling something which was given to them; no, more maddening than that—something which was licensed to them.

The F.C.C. is empowered by its enabling legislation to examine each licensee's performance in terms of the public interest, convenience and necessity when the license comes up for periodic renewal. This power of revocation has been sparingly exercised; the few examples so far punished have been horrible indeed. In practice, minimum standards of performance have been the only achievement required. But the question of right, of principle, remains. Theoretically, the Commission could terminate the existence of a leading station overnight, by merely allocating its frequency to someone else. It could cripple or even destroy a network.

The industry admits that someone must grant the licenses in the first place; but once they are granted (and for the most part they are) the owners of them should have the same rights as other owners, and should not be accountable for what they do with their own property. The industry wants to be treated like any other business. The reasoning is consistent with itself, and with self-interest. Consequently, real efforts are being made to strip the F.C.C. of its discretionary powers, and turn radio back to the practical men who have made it what it is today.

Left with a truly free hand, what would the broadcasters do? As proof that it can manage its own affairs without government interference, radio is now struggling with the mechanics of self-regulation. At the convention of the National Association of Broadcasters in Atlantic City last September, a proposed code was presented. It has not yet been adopted, but when what some members consider the unreasonable restrictions on commercials have been modified, it probably will be. It is, as codes go, not a bad one. What if irreverent people refer to it as "codified boredom"? Look what the motion picture people have managed to do with a code.

One restraint which the broadcasters particularly resent is the so-called "Mayflower Decision," an F.C.C. ruling which prohibits the expression of political opinion. This ban on editorializing is now being contested before an enfeebled F.C.C., with fair prospects of industry success. In theory, the pleas of the plaintiffs are not unattractive, and have good precedent in time-honored doctrines of the freedom of the press. From the point of view of the proprietors, there is much to be gained; for the public, much to be lost.

Certainly one of the leading accomplishments of American radio has been its relatively unbiased presentation of the news, despite such flaws as the mortality among liberal commentators. Newspaper control of radio stations has already reached disturbingly high numerical levels; it would be a pity if they should become a common voice. At present, people believe what they hear on the radio; with explicit editorializing, they would probably disbelieve what they hear as thoroughly as they now disbelieve what they read in the papers—surely not a good thing. It is even possible that a "Mayflower" reversal would in the end do the broadcasters no good. The least result might be the creation of a breach between public and proprietors similar to the chasm revealed, in the case of the American press, during the last few presidential campaigns. A similar press situation in England, particularly noticeable during the General Elections, has led to the appointment of a Royal Commission on Freedom

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of the Press, whose findings, based on secret hearings, no man can foresee. Remembering the results of previous Royal Commissions, they may be explosive indeed.

Of the power and influence of the medium itself there can be little doubt. More people spend more time listening to the radio than they spend doing anything else except sleeping. Behavior induced by Orson Welles in his invasion from Mars, or by Kate Smith in her war-bond rallies, cannot be disregarded. People hear news who never read newspapers. Supposedly inherent defects in extending the democratic process have been circumvented by bringing the elected within earshot of the elector. Politically, a lever of frightening efficiency has been devised; new techniques of mass persuasion are being designed to manipulate a supposedly spontaneous public opinion. The existence of radio's influence can hardly be doubted. Argument occurs only over its extent and its depth.

Enthusiasts believe that radio has already outstripped the press, which took over from the school. Great innovations like printing and popular education do not, of course, always have the desired results. They are good in themselves, but not everything that stems from them is of the same order. All who read do not all read the hundred best books, and education for all has not meant that all have become scholars. Not only is the result less than expected, it is often different. This experience, common in the sciences called physical, is often rejected or explained away in more strictly human affairs. When 50,000 comic books appear in the American zone, they are snapped up by our soldiers, while more weighty periodicals clog the shelves. The whole business of audience measurement, from Crossley to Hooper to the latest radar gadget, proves that the same phenomenon has occurred in radio.

But radio, it will be said, did not create its audience. A great deal of the nonsense on the air is not the fault of the industry itself. Your local station is not responsible for what the network pipes in; the network is not responsible for the packages supplied by the advertising agency, while the agency, of course, is merely the client of its client, the sponsor. Driven by the sponsor and the advertising agency, programming is directed toward the lowest common denominator, and no one can deny that the denominator is well and completely served. The industry maintains that it is even ethically correct in aiming at the lowest third of the public, for other people have other pastimes—while the poor in spirit have only the radio. Again a consistent and even appealing argument, if you grant its premises. Indeed, the industry has always disclaimed any intention of giving the public what it needs, but its admirably democratic practice of giving the public what it wants has led to strange results. Perhaps radio created the public in its own image.

Problems such as this have long plagued the American movie industry, if plagued is not too strong a word, while the competition of foreign, particularly British films, makes the question one of actuality. Evidently the competition is unfair; American movies, representing what the front office thinks the public wants, were never intended to compete on a basis of quality.

It would be possible, of course, to build a radio system on the opposite thesis of giving the public what it should have. As a matter of fact, this has been more or less the position of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The product has been criticized, particularly by American commercial spokesmen, for being dull, for lacking pace and polish, and for not being an expression of free enterprise. Questions of quality aside, the British approach poses an interesting problem. Each B.B.C. "programme" is aimed at a special audience, while the typical American station, attempting to please the whole audience, strains toward "well-rounded" program-building. No one is offended, but perhaps no one is pleased? When you buy a book, a magazine or a newspaper, there is something for every choice. In radio, there is a choice of several varieties of the same thing.

It is questionable whether the people, when they look at radio, find it quite as good as the industry likes to think. Questionnaires, public opinion polls, have a way of reflecting the views of the questioner.

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Favorable quantitative results may not be so favorable qualitatively. It is a field, alas, in which scientific accuracy is almost as difficult of attainment as in science. The radio audience is large, almost as large as the market researchers say it is; but there is also, to borrow a phrase from the movies, quite a large negative audience which probably contains a fair quantity of the more intelligent potential listeners. If you care to put it that way, the radio audience lacks a head, which is an essential component of any viable anatomy.

There is a learned judge in New York who is reputed never to listen to the radio, never to read a newspaper. Even though he must exercise judgment on the events of the day, he apparently feels that he can find all needed information without using two of the greatest media of mass communications. His policy of total abstinence may seem extreme, and hardly to be recommended, but it has symbolic value.

Most of us, though we have a perfect right not to listen, have no right not to know. While the quality and content of what goes out over the air is our vital concern, satirists complain, with justice, that it is impossible to exaggerate the foolishness of most programs. Apologists maintain that the American radio system is the best in the world. It may be. But it is incredibly bad.

Anything said about radio can be true only for the moment because of the tremendously high rate of change. Certainly, a strengthened F.C.C. and more public control of program content would be desirable; listeners' councils are praiseworthy institutions; the splendid work of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press should continue; the broadcasters should regain control and responsibility from the agencies and the sponsors, and we should give all possible encouragement to those forces within the industry which are working for improvement. Of the current crop of suggestions, some are impractical politically, others are absurd economically, and the concept of "solution" does not seem to apply. Before you could put into effect the recommendations which critics make so freely, the situation will have altered to such an extent that the criticisms will no longer be applicable.

According to Mr. Charles A. Siepmann, radio will have a "second chance" with FM (frequency modulation), while television is visibly taking over where radio left off, as you can see by watching the antennas change the urban landscape. Facsimile has now moved into position around the corner. Yet no matter what the technical changes may be, the basis of the industry will probably remain the same. In the words of the president of N.B.C., "He who controls the pocketbook controls the man. Business control means complete control, and there is no use arguing to the contrary."

Comments

Mr. Bryson

I have no serious quarrel with what Mr. Young has written, although I think he has weakened some of his good points by attempting too broad an indictment. One possible misunderstanding must be cleared up. Mr. Young did not mean to be unfair, but he should have pointed out that when he says that a station "sells its space" it does not sell it to be filled with advertising, as is the case with a newspaper or periodical. The recent Sunday book review section of a New York newspaper was made up of 30 per cent reading matter and 70 per cent advertising. If a broadcasting station sold "70 per cent" of its space, only something less than 15 per cent of that space

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would be filled with advertising copy; the rest would be entertainment, usually but not always supplied by the advertising agency. The accusation that Mr. Young evidently means to make is that the entertainment periods that carry this 15 per cent of advertising are too often trivial and tiresome.

The general drift of Mr. Young's article leaves me unhappy, however, because he offers no remedy for bad broadcasting. He is willing to support good programs, and he knows enough about the situation to see that the broadcasters are, generally, on the side of the listener. The ambition of the broadcasters, which is more often realized than people outside the industry suppose, may be only a self-interest that is more farsighted than the self-interest of some advertisers. It is real, nevertheless. It is as constructive, I believe, as the similar ambition of the good newspaper publisher who also is "in business." But Mr. Young leaves us with a banal quotation from a network official, and with the impression that as long as broadcasting is a business it must be bad.

This, I fear, is running away from the problem again. Mr. Young does not say that he wants a government-owned corporation like the BBC, although he praises that unique agency for its great achievements. The BBC has a high degree of freedom from interference by other government agencies; it is almost but not quite "non-political." Does anyone believe that we Americans could manage a system like that? We lack the most important asset, which is long experience in separating government grants from government controls. In any case, there is an easy and a practical way to try it: set up a government system in competition with private radio. You can see a combination system being tried now in Canada. It certainly is not altogether bad; in many ways it is excellent. In any case, experiment is desirable. The real importance of the new FM developments is that they will make it possible for us to have many more stations than we have now, and we may learn to serve many more special kinds of audiences.

Does Mr. Young really mean to suggest a scheme of government ownership? We have not found government control or management useful in dealing with newspapers or magazines or motion pictures. It is true that radio stations have to be licensed in order to keep the channels clear, but this does not mean that a license is a natural monopoly. There are now about as many radio stations in this country as there are daily newspapers, and after FM gets established there can be five times as many. The problems of freedom and responsibility in broadcasting are different from those in other forms of mass communication, but they will be solved by the same factors. We have good newspapers—a few in a welter of bad journalism. We have good pictures—in a welter of tripe. We have good music—in a storm of silly noise. We have good broadcasting. The good exists everywhere because there is an appreciative public for it. How can we enlarge that public? No one art or agency can do it alone.

Mr. Young

With most of Mr. Bryson's argument I heartily agree. It would be gratifying to believe that this concensus was equivalent to "the facts."

On the question of the press, or "print," I would go even farther, and say that it is worse, and radio better, than Mr. Bryson implies. If you compare radio with other American media, or with many foreign radio systems, it stands up very well indeed. But when you judge it, judge it in terms of its own potentialities, the findings are not so favorable. (Degas, when asked if he considered himself a good painter, said yes, if he compared himself; no, if he judged.)

As to the question of what the public wants, of course the commercial broadcasters make mistakes, but their mistakes hurt only themselves; to the rest of us, their successes are much more costly.

I am sure that the cultivated minority is just as ignorant in broadcasting matters as Mr. Bryson says, but ignorance in this field is probably no greater than ignorance of the technical details of the printing process.

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And I do not quite see how greater knowledge, aside from being a good in itself, would improve listening. As for the indifference, I am not sure. A large and sympathetic audience already exists for many of the best things that radio offers: surely, even in "quantitative" rating, the opera and the commentators stand high. It is true that pioneering radio ventures often have trouble finding their audiences—but is this different from the condition of any other art: from painting, from poetry?

As well as the time factor, distance controls radio. Many of the good things can be heard only in metropolitan areas; even more can be heard only in the New York area, which has almost the same primacy in broadcasting as in the theater. Some fine programs presented by networks are on "station option" time; local affiliates can refuse these offerings, and often do. There are large areas where the choice between stations is limited, and even larger areas where only one or two of the networks can be heard.

Obviously, it is not very important to defend the broadcasters against the intellectuals, for they are more than able to take care of themselves. But it is an unhealthy situation when so many intelligent people, particularly since the end of the war, do not listen at all—have, in fact, given up the radio. Nor is it entirely their fault. Experience has made them feel that the incidence of good programs is statistically insignificant, which would be less than one in ten thousand—a wild exaggeration, of course, but indicative of their thinking.

Certainly there is need for serious criticism, but the radio critic has not yet developed the professional immunity of the book reviewer. No one, of course, likes to be criticized; yet the broadcasters are inordinately touchy, to the point of raising the question of the guilty conscience. It is safe enough to deplore singing commercials, but if you point out the limited range of the broadcast symphonic repertory, or call a discussion program dull (and some of them are), you are accused of treason—the treason of the intellectuals, I presume.

In this highly restricted field, quality remains an incidental. It is a privilege, not a right: such good things as we have are the gifts of kindly broadcasters. For the good is peripheral, innately so. Organizations designed for a specific purpose do no easily perform functions foreign to them. It is probably a misconception of the nature of broadcasting companies to expect much more from them than what we are now receiving.

In the Summer Number...

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM will present Mark Van Doren and Walter Lippmann in a discussion of world federation.

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The Reader Replies . . .

The Reader Replies *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. In the Summer number, for example,* The Reader Replies *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the subject: "Radio in America." In addition, miscellaneous letters of comment on various articles appear in this department. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *5 East 44 Street, New York 17, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length. Because of limitations of space, the Editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Summer number should be mailed before March 26.*

The Editors regret that because of lack of space, and—in some cases—the press deadline, we were unable to publish several letters received. All letters to the Editor on hand as we go to press and not published here will appear in the Summer number. (Editor)

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Dynamism?

Mr. Padover's agreement with much of Mrs. Dean's analysis of American foreign policy excludes her statement that the Russian problem has been inflated out of all proportion. Both Russia and the United States, he says, are expansive forces which must be either joined or opposed, but cannot be ignored. How many Americans, one wonders (or how many Russians), will agree with him as soon as the postwar jitters have abated? And how many will go on proving that human beings under any system are pretty good at ignoring?

"Dynamism" is a slippery word. Applied to the Soviet Union, does it suggest a nation which is recovering slowly from the most expensive war in modern history; which is moving into its own hinterland at a rate (based on shift of population and of industrial investment) greater than that at which the American West was opened in the second half of the nineteenth century; and which is so deeply committed to "socialism in one country" that it has alienated vast sectors of the international revolutionary movement which it once led?

Applied to this country? Mr. Padover is right that we produce 60 per cent of the world's industrial output. But has he recently tried to buy a house, or a car, or to sell a foreign bond, or to persuade a so-called capitalist to develop a foreign market? The inner compulsions and drives of American capitalism, as Mr. Padover calls them, may still turn out to be also inward. "The American Century," in its original definition by Mr. Henry R. Luce, began with the remarkable sentence: "We Americans are unhappy." For a "dollar offensive," or an imperialist crusade, or a dynamism, as Mr. Padover calls it, it continues to have a strangely unhappy and reluctant tone.

Russian-American rivalry may still blow up the world. When a war starts between basically reluctant enemies, each more harassed by internal cleavages than by external points of friction, it can kill as many people, and kill them just as dead, as a war growing out of real and tangible conflicts of interest. But such a war comes less often, and it takes a longer time ripening.

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Expansion and Values

Concededly the Russian question now dominates all problems of American foreign policy. There is little difference on the controlling facts. Two additional observations are in order.

First: The break in Russian-American cooperation was made, not after President Roosevelt's death by American protagonists of a "get tough" policy, but by deliberate decision of the Soviet Union during Roosevelt's lifetime. The evidence strongly indicates that the decision was taken in the late summer of 1944, after victory was certain, though the war was not ended. The decision seems to have been abandonment of a cooperative policy, and determination to pursue unilaterally an imperialist line—the policy which Mr. Padover calls "expansionism" (a politer name for "imperialism"). Implicit in this was a policy of direct attack on the policies and personalities of the other Allied governments. At all events, covert opposition began before V-J; and became open thereafter. Expansionist successes secured by the Soviet Union through, and aggressive continuation of, this policy have brought us now to crisis.

Second: Revolutions, with rare exceptions, commence by affirming values; continue by creating dictatorships; and end in imperialist governments seeking to increase their power irrespective of the original values. This has been true from the Protestant revolutions and Cromwell to Napoleon. The Russian Revolution is no exception. Commonly, the deep values of the revolution survive; almost invariably the imperialist governments eventually fail.

This appears to be the case in Europe. Ideology has been reduced to propaganda. Soviet expansionism is directed not only against capitalism, but against socialism, as the lengthening trail of its hates—Petkov, Maniu, Mikolajczyk, Erich, Alter, and the British socialists—too plainly shows. Apparently the doctrine is, not that the Soviet system cannot co-exist with "capitalism," but that it cannot co-exist with any non-dominated government.

Mrs. Dean believes that a bargain can eventually be struck. As of today, this is only hope. No present evidence supports this thesis. President Roosevelt tried and failed. Time may change the situation.

American foreign policy now must fully accept the enduring values which the Russian Revolution affirmed and which have activated peoples throughout the entire world. Economic and racial justice, as well as national and personal "liberty," will be sought unremittingly until attained. Equally, American policy makers must accept the fact that the Russian imperialism is increasingly more concerned with expanding Russian power than with realizing these values. Thus, improvement of the condition of the masses by any non-dominated government is regarded by Soviet policy makers as "aggression," since it diminishes the likelihood of new conquests by exploiting local wrongs. Hence the Soviet struggle against the Marshall Plan.

Our foreign policy, to be consistent, must assist and work with those values which are dynamic in the world; just as it must meet the negative necessity of resisting their invasion through aggression from any source.

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Mrs. Dean's Omissions and Mr. Padover's Commissions

I do not find myself in full agreement with either Mrs. Dean's or Mr. Padover's FORUM articles on U. S. foreign policy.

Mrs. Dean's contribution is clearly but too narrowly presented. One can only applaud its final paragraph, which is a plea for reason in foreign relations, with a valuable enumeration of objectives to be striven for. But the omissions in her argument would tend to make an informed effort in that direction difficult. Below, I list the ones that appear most important.

Remarking justly that "foreign affairs are part and parcel of domestic affairs," Mrs. Dean mechanically limits the connection to such matters as what steel, food, etc., to ship abroad. The really essential link, how-

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ever, is what groups and interests are dominent in home (and consequently external) politics. This contention is easily documented from American history.

As Mrs. Dean says, the United States became a main and active factor in world power relationships after "forging ahead to the position of a leading industrial power" at the turn of the century. Since then, as she failed to say, periods of "dollar diplomacy" and crude, frequently armed, imposition of the will of United States business on foreign peoples have most often coincided with periods of reactionary rule and government attacks on labor within the country.

The Mark Hanna-McKinley regime fought the Spanish-American War, retained effective rule in "liberated" Cuba, colonized the supposedly freed Philippines after drowning a national "insurrection" in blood, and helped crush the Boxer upheaval in China. Under William Howard Taft, the White House and State Department intervened directly to force Wall Street loans on China and Latin America, anomalously committed the American republic to unsuccessful support of the Manchu imperial regime against Chinese republicans under Sun Yat-sen, subverted Sun's 1911 revolution by withholding recognition until Yuan Shih-kai, a monarchist warlord, was installed as president, and supported the latter with political loans secured on Chinese internal taxes. This action helped set off the succeeding turmoil of Chinese militarist wars.

When a new democratic movement approached victory in 1927, U. S. Marines, business men and diplomats participated in the international actions that installed a new reactionary "strong man"—Chiang Kai-shek. The same hardly progressive phase of home politics (the Coolidge administration) saw Marines in Nicaragua, etc. With present events and parallels, I shall not deal.

The second point on which I take issue with Mrs. Dean is her description of modern U. S. foreign policy as "non-interventionist." The record sketched above tells a different story. Intervention is not new, although the present scale is. That in turn is the product of America's economic development, plus the forces that control it, plus the disappearance of several world powers which once had the earth pretty well staked out.

"Toleration of fascism," which Mrs. Dean regards as a danger, is really utilization of fascism, and an accomplished fact (China, Greece, the Philippines, South Korea). Some United States activities in the United Nations are correctly described as attempts to secure "international support for unilateral action." Mrs. Dean's appeal for a check on war talk is most praiseworthy.

While Mrs. Dean's world is reasonably clear, Mr. Padover's is inhabited by "two colossi," the "relentless glacier" and "pronounced ego" of Russia, contending dangerous ideologies, a sprinkling of geopolitical catchwords, and terms like "inexplicable" to describe the "rise of political reaction in the U. S."—which Mr. Padover forthwith proceeds to explain, not too badly, if one gathers the tag ends of his argument into one place. Such extravagant and indiscriminate use of thought-fruits from many baskets is unfortunate, when plain English, as Mrs. Dean demonstrates, is a far better vehicle for discussion. History is also cavalierly treated, as when current anti-Russian violence by the press is cited as proof that war already exists minus the shooting. Mrs. Dean's counter-question as to what else the United States press was doing from 1917 to 1941 is well put.

Similar looseness, which comes very poorly from a practicing journalist, is represented in Mr. Padover's assertion that: "In the United States and in the Soviet Union people are saying more and more openly that one or the other has got to be annihilated." "Annihilated" means physically destroyed. George B. Earle & Co. are of course on record here as demanding just that for the U. S. S. R. But if Mr. Padover can produce even one piece of Soviet writing asking a similar fate for the United States, I shall willingly give him a prize.

Such substitutions of fog for clarity and discipline of expression where they are most needed are a pernicious habit, which I note because it is not confined to Mr. Padover. It is particularly distressing in someone like Mr. Padover, who is not only honestly con-

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cerned with the drift of events but wants peace—which is what matters—no less than Mrs. Dean and the present commentator.

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Further Questions about the Truman Doctrine

In view of the limitations of space, I shall comment on a few particularly important points only.

First, as to Mrs. Dean's article. While finding myself in agreement with her treatment of the first three American objectives in world affairs (p. 82) I am not satisfied with her discussion of objectives (4) and (5). The U. S., she says, "has come to identify Russia as the potential aggressor." And, "since the Truman Doctrine is clearly directed against Russian aggression, it is bound to arouse opposition in Moscow—opposition which, under given circumstances, might lead to armed conflict." Moreover, because of the American appeal to the U.N. Assembly to act on Greece, "the U.N. might conceivably be transformed into a coalition against Russia."

What I miss here is a discussion of the fundamental premise of the Truman Doctrine. Does Mrs. Dean agree that the Soviet Union is an aggressor—actual or potential? If she does not, she should have given us her reasons for rejecting the thesis. If she does, then what way of "preventing the emergence of a new aggressor"—without antagonizing the aggressor—would she suggest?

Speaking of the American policy of "checking communism and promoting democracy," Mrs. Dean sees in it a "departure from the traditional American concept of political non-intervention." She bases her conclusion on the fact that the American objective is to make foreign countries "less vulnerable not only to Russian pressure from outside, but also to the pressure of native Communists from within." But is this a valid distinction in the light of the evidence that today "native Communists" are acting as agents of Soviet foreign policy?

My disagreement with Mr. Padover is of a more radical nature. I do not accept as correct his interpretation of recent international policies and events. I cannot equate, as he does, "the dynamism of the Soviet Russian state and the dogmatic aggression of international communism" with the "dynamism of the American monopolistic capitalism," which allegedly is ruling our land and striving to extend its rule to other countries. To me, the Truman Doctrine is not "negative"; it is *for* the preservation of independence of small or weak countries as against aggression from outside and seizure of power by an armed minority from within. Neither is it "provocatory and inciting," being nothing but a reply—and a belated one at that—to "provocation and incitement" from the other side.

Mr. Padover wants us "really to try conciliation with Russia" and "to prove to the badly hurt Russian people that we are not their enemy." As I see it, until recently we have been doing our best to conciliate the Soviet government, and I do not think that we can prove our friendship for the Russian people by making more concessions to the dictatorship of which they are the chief victims.

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The Padover Mythology

In this interesting interchange, it seems to me that Mr. Padover is on firmer ground than Mrs. Dean in focusing the issue squarely upon the problem of Soviet dynamism. But he then attacks it in a cloud of concepts almost as mythical as those to which we are accustomed in the oratory of a Molotov or a Vishinsky, and to which, indeed, they bear a singularly close relationship.

To take one example: Mr. Padover perpetuates the myth of an abrupt, reactionary shift in American policy—a widespread myth, but one without foundation in fact.

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To write that "at some point after the death of Roosevelt the men who run this country—and today they are conspicuously the representatives of Wall Street, the armed forces and the top conservative interests—decided to embark upon a world-wide crusade against Communism" is not only grossly to distort the actual processes of policy-formation in the United States; it is not only to invent a concerted "crusade" for which there is not a shred of evidence; it is also to fly in the face of available history.

Mr. Byrnes's memoirs have made it plain that Roosevelt himself was aware of the developing issue with the Soviets which was to grow acute after Mr. Truman took office; that Roosevelt's reaction was as emphatic as that of any subsequent policy-maker, and that there is no reason to suppose that if he had lived the basic course of our policy would have been different. But one did not have to wait upon Mr. Byrnes's disclosures for this inference. Roosevelt was co-author of the Atlantic Charter; he made a determined effort (at the time believed to have been successful) to save the independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which were much deeper in Russia's "back door" than any territory which the Truman Doctrine seeks to bolster; the whole meaning of Yalta lay in the fact that it was a final attempt to compromise this dangerous issue of Soviet expansion, and the compromise which Roosevelt thought he had secured announced an American interest in maintaining free government all the way across Central Europe, even to Bulgaria.

It is simply fantastic to suppose that the author of these policies would or could have continued passively to travel "the path of mutual trust and cooperation," as Mr. Padover puts it, after it was proved that the hopes of Yalta were betrayed, that the Russians had no intention of living up to what he thought they had promised, and that the attempt to support democracy in Europe, which had begun on the shores of the Baltic, was ending with democracy in dire peril on the Seine.

This is but one example of the Padover mythology; space forbids examining others. Though I happen to think that Mr. Padover greatly exaggerates the present danger of a "shooting" war, I agree that the Russian problem is paramount in our policy, and that it is a very grave one. My doubt is whether we shall get far toward answering it by substituting a quite imaginary history for readily available facts (the latter are complex enough, as it is) or converting the actualities of international affairs into a mythical melodrama of Wall Street hobgoblins and Kremlin angels. It doesn't seem a very useful method to me.

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The Central Contradiction

I have read the articles by Mrs. Dean and Mr. Padover with much interest, and there are many individual points in both of them —especially in the article of Mr. Padover— with which I agree. At the same time, however, it seems to me that neither of them has squarely faced the central contradiction of American foreign policy: namely, that the U.S. Government is everywhere backing a system which has already failed.

"The prewar system of capitalism in Europe," writes Professor H. H. Fisher in *America and Russia in the World Community*, "is identified with failure—failure to provide jobs and social security in the face of overproduction and failure to prevent war. It is this and not Communist propaganda that has caused liberated Europe to turn to new paths." And yet, as both Mrs. Dean and Mr. Padover admit, the basic aim of American policy is precisely to revive the prewar system of capitalism.

It just can't be done. Every day brings new evidence that a "success" for American policy is not a step in the direction of the *status quo ante* but a nearer approach to a fascist world. It is already true in most countries that capitalism can be maintained only by fascist methods, and yesterday's appeasers and Hitlerites are increasingly today's ardent admirers of America.

But, it may be asked, how else are we

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to preserve capitalism at home? The answer is very simple: In no other way. If you are out to save capitalism, abroad or at home, you will back the present American foreign policy. But if you are out to save peace and humanity and to re-lay the foundations of civilized progress, you will fight for socialism, abroad and at home; and you will recognize American foreign policy as the evil force it is.

The next question is no doubt already on the reader's lips: What about communism and the Communists? How are you going to stop them? I would answer by asking another question: Are the Communists in favor of socialism or not? I think the record shows very clearly that they are. If this is right, then the way to stop them is obviously to reach an agreement for cooperation with them, and to prove that you are a better fighter for socialism than they are. In this way we will get socialism quicker—and there is no other possible salvation for the world—and we shall deprive the Communists of their greatest asset: that they are the only people who mean business when they talk about socialism. Personally, I believe that most Communists will not be sorry to lose this particular monopoly, and that when they do lose it, their whole psychology will quickly change.

I am not so stupid as to recommend this course to the present Administration or Congress. But I do recommend it to the American people, and especially to those who are already aware that their country is now leading the world into the valley of the shadow of death. Of one thing I am certain: We—or those of us who survive another war—will come to it sooner or later. The only question is, how soon and after how much suffering?

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Anachronistic

The articles of Mrs. Dean and Mr. Padover are excellent and even brilliant expositions of the attitude and reasoning which determined the political and military strategy of the United States during the war and for some time afterwards. The results of that strategy are now painfully evident. After a war fought to stop aggression and restore liberty and democracy as the best guaranties of our own security, there is more aggression and more suppression of liberty and democracy than ever, and both the United States and (even more) Western Europe, the first line of our defense, find themselves exposed to another menace to their safety and way of life—this other at least as grave as the one they sacrificed both blood and treasure to remove.

In the light of these results, the two articles sound strangely anachronistic. But as a record of the fallacies which led to these results, they form at least an interesting reflection of the Great American Confusion that led to such grave misjudgment, not only of Russia and her aims, but of all the political, psychological and economic bases of European existence. And the most interesting aspect of them is that, despite a different approach to the problem of American foreign policy, they are in fundamental agreement in their conclusions. These conclusions, stated more subtly by Mrs. Dean, more openly by Mr. Padover, are that the United States is mainly responsible for the present world situation because, largely for selfish reasons, it opposes Russia and communism, therewith arousing counter-opposition, and that the way to ease international tension and avert a new war is for the United States to stop its "provocatory truculence," allay Russia's suspicions by atomic disarmament, seek to reconcile her by extending aid to her and her satellites, act where necessary only through the United Nations instead of "unilaterally," and finally, slap down reaction and support the "democratic" and "progressive" forces of the left at home and abroad.

In arriving at this conclusion, Mrs. Dean gives the United States credit for seeking to maintain peace, stop aggression, prevent war and aid suffering peoples. But she also suggests that together with these noble aims the United States likewise seeks to maintain and expand its sources of strategic raw materials, its markets and its free enterprise—

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which smacks of imperialism, profits and capitalism. And she suggests that if the United States would only drop these selfish aims, it would also end the conflict with Russia, which in her mind is being grossly "inflated" anyhow, and is presumably merely another "bogy," like communism before it got a strangle hold on Europe. Mr. Padover, whose very title, "The American Century?", hints at world-conquering ambitions, sees, on the other hand, a great ideological struggle between communism, the faith of the poor and disinherited, and greedy American capitalism directed by Wall Street, the armed forces and conservative interests, which "inexplicably" gained control of the United States and put an end to President Roosevelt's policy of trust in, and friendship with, Russia. And in his mind the Russian declarations of policy through Stalin, Molotov and the Cominform that the mere existence of capitalism is a cause of war and must be destroyed, are more than counter-balanced by unidentified American voices calling for the annihilation of Russia.

Yet there is one dominating factor in the situation which both authors recognize, though by a strange quirk of reasoning they both refuse to draw the logical conclusions from it. That factor is Russia's "expansionist moves," which Mrs. Dean admits in passing but Mr. Padover recognizes as a serious challenge. Indeed, in contrast to Mrs. Dean's attempt to ignore it, Mr. Padover rightly points out that Russian expansion is an historic process which, unlike the American expansion on this continent, has not yet stopped, and that it has been given new impetus by the destruction of the European balance of power which created in the heart of that continent a vacuum which nature and Russia both abhor. But he seems to suggest that the Russian expansion is more or less inevitable, and therewith presumably justified, because it is due to such things as the "dynamism of the Russian state" and the "stubborn and immutable facts of geography," and that in any case we can't do much about it.

That was also, in almost the identical words, the argument advanced by Hitler in his demand for "Lebensraum." And therewith we arrive at the central issue of American foreign policy, which reduces everything else to secondary importance. That issue is whether, having fought two world wars to stop Germany from conquering Europe, we shall now permit Russia to conquer both Europe and Asia, or whether we shall do everything within our power to stop Russia as well, for our own self-preservation? President Roosevelt, who had a "grand design" which, in contrast to some of his followers, he also recognized as a great gamble, tried to do so by the appeasement recommended by Mrs. Dean and Mr. Padover. The results have been more than tragic, not only for the United States, but especially for the hundreds of millions of people turned over to the Russian terror. And appeasement, which still set the pattern for Potsdam, ended only when its failure became too obvious to be denied, and its tragedy had turned into a direct menace to the United States.

It is that menace of Russian expansion and aggression that confronts us, and nothing else. If that struggle assumes ideological aspects it is only because, as Mr. Padover himself admits, Russian imperialism has allied itself with communism, which furnishes it auxiliaries in every other country. But even the most hard-shelled reactionary in the United States would forget all about ideology and fighting Russian communism, and would throw his hat into the air, if Russia should cease her expansion and aggression, which include support and manipulation of her Communist Fifth Columns. And Wall Street would be the first in such a case to extend all the help Russia needs. But until Russia does change her policy, it would be compounding folly to continue the appeasement that failed. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, designed to keep Russia in check and restore some kind of power balance in Europe and the world, are evidence that the American instinct for self-preservation has not yet been lulled to sleep, and that the American people still recognize a menace when they see it.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

"Music Is International"

Fred Newton Scott used to define prose as "expression for the sake of communication," and poetry as "communication for the sake of expression." If he was right, then some recent pieces published by THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR are neither prose nor poetry, as they fail in expression as well as communication. Nor can they be denominated "verse," for that term implies observing the salutary restrictions of rhythm or rhyme, or both—and both are absent from such pieces. Goethe's mature wisdom seems to be forgotten: *In der Beschränkung zeigt sich nur der Meister.* If music is the brandy of the damned ("as Shaw says"), then such "poetry" might be called the lees of the infernal intoxicant.

A case in point is the Audenesque lucubration in your autumn, 1947, number. On the subject "Music Is International," Mr. Auden has nothing to say, and says it badly. His style, evidently intended to be humorous and impressive, succeeds only in being grotesque. His theme is engulfed in a welter of muddy thinking.

Our modern intelligentsia seem to be a pushover for all kinds of meretricious trumpery. A talented Irishman gets an enormous reputation by stringing together a succession of ponderously devised enigmas. A clever woman makes her readers believe that a meaningless statement becomes meaningful by dint of inane repetition. It should be possible to find something new to say without resorting to such ticklish devices.

It seems to me time for someone to protest against the wilful obscurity—and the trickiness—of much modern writing. Naturally, one has no particular quarrel with Mr. Auden, but just because he is a poet of parts it is unfortunate that by his example he should seem to encourage lesser talents in their puerile vagaries. It's an old and ever-recurring quarrel, as you well know. Horace had to pillory "sesquipedalian" verbiage, Molière called it "galimatias" and held up to ridicule the preciosity of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, etc., etc. But the ghosts of Góngora, Marini and Lyly's *Euphues* are always rising from their tombs to haunt would-be poets who "mistake aspiration for inspiration" and obscurity for profundity. On the other hand, we do not need to fall into the obtuseness of a Jeffrey.

Perhaps we need a new and less prolix Wordsworth to rediscover the beauty of simplicity and the power of common words—familiar to real poets all the way down from Homer. Q.E.D.

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A Suggestion for the Forum

I enjoy reading the discussions, pro and con, in the FORUM, not only because of the timely interest in the topics, but because of the various viewpoints presented. By evaluating parallel and conflicting opinions of recognized authorities on the subject, one is better able to reach an intelligent decision on problems of which he has only a surface knowledge. I believe that forum discussions are basic to democracy, whether they be on the college level or over-the-fence conversations. I hope to see the day when public interest in the intellectual quest for truth is such that forums in municipal auditoriums, in colleges and schools, in newspapers, magazines, and on the radio, will rival the cinema and the comic strips in popularity.

Democracy in its simplest meaning is majority rule. If that rule is to be just, it must be supported by an enlightened, intelligent majority. The citizens of a democracy should have expert advice to help them form public opinion conducive to good government. This advice could be supplied through regular oral and written forums sponsored by the government itself.

The so-called democracies have been termed "decadent" by supporters of the totalitarian governments, because of the political corruption of party machines, the moral laxness of individuals, and the slow reaction to economic and social problems. These critics have overlooked the fact that these countries, in spite of recognized shortcomings, produce a population of inde-

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pendent, ingenious, resourceful, shrewd experts in all conceivable lines of activity. The advantage of speed in carrying out economic and social plans in the totalitarian countries is brought about by having only a few top public officers give orders to be obeyed, with no opportunity of approval or rejection by the masses. One could enlarge upon the weaknesses of the totalitarian forms of government as a negative means of justifying republican forms of democracy, but it would be of more value to consider the methods of improving the democracies.

Slow governmental action on basic economic and social problems is inherent in the present form of representative government in the United States. The citizens of any locality depend on representatives from one of two political parties to do their lawmaking for them. Persons who have views different from those of either of the parties —which are basically similar to each other— have no hope of electing a representative. The winning candidate in an election is told by his party leaders, on whom he must depend for support in coming elections, what views and strategy he should take in Congress. He is elected by voters, who, we have just as much reason to believe, voted for him as a protest against the policies of the opposing candidate's party rather than as a full acceptance of his party's policies or of him personally. Others, who do not agree with either major party and many who have not registered or lack interest, do not vote at all. Interest in elections generally is discouraged by ancient electoral age laws which eliminate men and women under twenty-one, who are considered old enough to sacrifice their lives as members of the armed forces, or to become parents. Then many more are disfranchised because of the color of their skin or because they are not so successful in the art of accumulating money.

When the votes are counted, the winning candidates, who may or may not be the choice of the majority of the adult population in their particular district, must now throw their support to the party policy and pass or reject the bills written by congressional committees. When the two legislative bodies have compromised enough to pass the bills, they must be signed or vetoed by the President. If the resultant law is according to the will of the majority of the adult population, or even of the registered voters, it is through mere chance or the hand of Providence.

The solution to this slow, and perhaps contrary legislative effort to correct the economic and social ills of the nation, lies in true democracy, not in minority rule. This can be accomplished by obtaining accurate polls of public opinion on all major issues. Then the legislators would have to enact laws according to the will of the majority, or be exposed as agents of special minority interests.

Over a century ago, when the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, the nation's founders had not heard of the modern miracles of the radio and mechanized office equipment; but had they known of them, it is probable that they would have made use of these devices to further good representative government. Perhaps they would have used them for direct lawmaking by the people. They were the progressives of their day, using the best knowledge of their time to formulate a constitutional government that is still considered the best in the world.

With the heritage they have left us, and with the knowledge gained in the last hundred years, we should be able to improve upon our system of lawmaking and government administration to the extent that reactionaries of the totalitarian philosophies, whether communistic or fascist, will not have valid reasons to call democracy decadent.

I have tried to present one side of this argument, and since I am certain the present form of our legislative system has supporters, I would like to hear both sides of this topic discussed in the FORUM or in THE READER REPLIES. I believe that this question of representative government is of sufficient importance to justify thorough re-examination and positive action.

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(Continued on page 254)

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

Ground for Suspicion

Apropos of I cannot remember what, my colleague remarked at lunch, "I am always suspicious of people who are in a hurry." I carefully refrained from looking at my watch, as I had been about to do, and ostentatiously lingered over the coffee. But later my friend's observation returned to haunt me. I began to reflect on the grounds for his suspicion. He had not, I am certain, sinister disquietudes in mind. He did not mean that he thought any of his hurried and harried friends were on their hasty way to the performance of illegal errands. They were probably innocently racing to cubicles in libraries, or to their typewriters, or to meetings organized with the most generous intent for the best of causes. He had, I am certain, subtler grounds for suspicion, and I find myself beginning to share them. Obviously one ought to suspect a man who is perpetually in a hurry. He patently has had no time to stop and reflect what it is he is in a hurry about. He is likely also to be an extraordinarily unperceptive and unsympathetic character. He has no time to enjoy the things or persons from whom he is continually hurrying away. Obviously a man who can scarcely stop to say "hello" is treating you as a way station rather than as a terminal point. Leisure, as Aristotle pointed out, is a good because it makes contemplation possible. The hurried man allows himself no leisure. By Heavens! I am myself now beginning to be completely suspicious of people in a hurry. They have no time for enjoyment, for contemplation or even for sleep or good manners. If I d not have other pressing and immediate ligations, I should like to develop this possibly into a book. I begin to be s of myself.

The Age of Facsimile

A while ago I had the pleasure of be invited to dinner by a young couple, both veterans of the Navy. They are now both students. Under the difficult conditions of the tiniest of kitchenettes and the slowest of electric stoves, the young wife had provided an excellent dinner initiated by a soup with a rare and delightful flavor. "How fortunate an age we are living in," I said to myself, "when a busy young woman can provide, out of a can, so exotically interesting a soup, one that would have been attainable earlier only at an expensive French restaurant or after hours of labor."

"This is wonderful," I said after a mouthful.

The young housekeeper blushed wit pleasure. "It is made from an old recipe t has been in our family for two generatic she said. "It's quite a lot of trouble pare and it takes a long time, but turns out it is worth it."

It was on the tip of my tc that it was just as good as t best company could prod was wonderful that she young woman, should so successfully with large corporations

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...one. At a crowded cocktail party a while ago, I ran into an old friend I had not seen in months. "It is impossible to talk here in all this crush," he said. "I'll telephone you tomorrow and we'll have a real good heart to heart chat over the phone."

Family Retainer

I was rather startled to hear the well-known lady novelist speak within ten minutes of my meeting her of "my analyst," as she might have spoken of her coiffeur or her laundryman or her doctor. There was in her voice, as she spoke of her analyst, the same mixture of attitudes. Her analyst was a combination of father-confessor, service station, confidant, friend, repairman, personnel counselor and private tutor. She spoke, in fact, of being in the process of taking a "refresher analysis."

I hasten to disclaim any easy and arrogant dismissal of analysis either as theory or therapy. I am simply noting the fact that in the sociology of our time, psychological analysis as treatment often appears in the context of middle-class luxuries—one of the ways of keeping up with the Joneses. The thing becomes a real luxury when, as in he case of certain fabled tycoons, it is pos-ble to speak of "my private analyst." Of -rse, the perfect luxury would be a pri- analyst transported everywhere in a -te plane.

' this indicates, as any indignant, satis-atient of analysis will tell me, my -tent need for analysis. But a very e analyst told me recently that pro- intellectuals are the worst possible nd that beyond a certain age they cally hopeless. That is perhaps s me scoff. Apparently no one analyst.

LIER THAN YOU THINK

ealize that I have been re- the whole pressure psy- by the ominous phrase "it think." It is obvious that ose currency was aided Lerner's excellent book ded to waken us from ll us to the urgency of the things that need to be done if we or human race are to survive at all. The phr now practically standard cliché, is meant remind us that chaos is farther along th we realize, that anarchy is practically ap proaching a climax, that our enemies hav the secret of the atomic bomb, or that our own bombs are on the point of explosion. The incantation is intended to recall to us the fact that racial intolerance has mounted more rapidly than we are content to acknowledge, or than in a year or two we will be able to counteract; that we shall any moment now be drowned by the tide of inflation—to sum it all up briefly, that any instant now we will be inundated by irretrievable despair. There is, of course, no doubt that it is very late indeed with respect to all these things. It is late, and we are not thinking at all. There are hurricane warnings, and we blandly ignore them; there are telltale signs of young earthquakes, and we blithely or stubbornly refuse to notice them. It is thus probably a very good thing to be admonished that the sands are running out, but I have begun to wonder just how good a thing it really is to hear repeatedly this gloomy-with-foreboding tocsin. Instead of instigating action, it helps to paralyze it If one believes it is so hysterically late, one is tempted to throw up one's hands. What is to be done in so little time?

Not so long ago people were talking about the "wave of the future." If it is really as late as people say, one might be tempted to let the wave roll over us and over everything. We have come into the habit, moreover, of talking glibly about the end of an era—a habit of speech which the emphasis on the lateness of the hour confirms. Some era in something is ending every day—which is, of course, to say that some era in something is day by day beginning. Might not it be a useful therapeutic propaganda for a while to be reminded that in important ways it is earlier than we think? When we are told that Western civilization is bankrupt, it would be nice and even true to observe that on a geological and biological scale Western civilization is extremely young. When we are informed that the human race is politically and socially at its

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wits' end, it would be encouraging perhaps to have it noted that human intelligence, especially in its scientific form, has been applied to social and political affairs for a paltry hundred years or so. When we are told that it is nearly midnight and doom will come on the stroke of that fateful hour, it might help to have it retorted that it is only dawn, and early dawn—in which one cannot see very clearly. Really, it is rather earlier than we think—not early enough to go back to sleep, but to relax attention a little and still perhaps to get something done.

There's a Reason

Among the random impressions of my childhood, there is an advertisement that used to appear particularly on the platforms along the elevated railroad stations in New York. It was the slogan of a breakfast food that was spelled in large letters, and it was a slogan that did nothing to explain the virtues of the cereal advertised. It said simply and decisively and vaguely, "There is a reason." It seemed to my ten-year-old mind somehow very impressive. I was quite prepared to believe that there was a reason and a good one, and of course even in that day it was not hard to have sense enough to think that the slogan meant a reason for eating that particular breakfast food, or a reason for its special virtue.

I have often noted since then in adult life that in the course of discussion on matters social or economic or religious there will be the intimation, too, that there is a reason. The reason is often implied rather than stated. Carried far enough, the argument runs, of course, that there is a reason in and for the universe, though only the slightest acquaintance with traditional theology is needed to realize that the reason is often left quite unspecified—even the reason that there should be a reason. Only the other day I listened to a philosophical paper in which the author said with passionate conviction, "Perhaps ideas beyond our comprehension ought to be our principles of comprehension."

I am less prepared than I was as a child reading the breakfast food advertisement to accept the allegation that there is a reason. I am sure that there is reason for my feelings. Any anthropologist, psychiatrist or sociologist, given my psycho-biography, my economic environment and the "age of anxiety" I live in, could give it. But I do not think they should be distracted from larger issues.

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The Revolving Bookstand

Politics and Ethics

Morroe Berger

Scientific Man vs. Power Politics, by Hans J. Morgenthau. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $3.00
You're the Boss, by Edward J. Flynn. New York: Viking Press. $3.00
States and Morals, by T. D. Weldon. New York: Whittlesey House. $3.00
Freedom and Order, by Eduard Heimann. New York: Scribner's. $3.00
The Cult of Power, by Rex Warner. Philadelphia: Lippincott. $2.50

Even among the most ardent believers in the late war against fascism, there are few who would claim that the military victory has eliminated the domestic threat to democracy. For that threat still lives in the minds and hearts of many of us, despite its temporary defeat in the form of state power. During the height of the authoritarian challenge before the war, the defenders of liberty wrote many books to prove the superiority of the democratic system over that practiced in Germany and Italy. Today, this argument presumably won, political thinkers have turned to an examination of democracy itself, to see why it was challenged, and why it is again challenged everywhere. They have returned, in the course of these investigations, to a consideration of the relations between ethical and political action.

Probably the most pessimistic of this group of not too hopeful books under discussion is *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, by Professor Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago. We are unable to settle our political (especially international) problems, he asserts, because we have abjured the political method in favor of a scientific method in a realm unsuited to it. He deprecates the liberal assumption that international disputes, where power opposes power, can be resolved by the disinterested use of reason. Criticizing the tendency to shun power politics in this way, and through reliance upon economic compromise, Mr. Morgenthau insists that we need, not statesmen who fear power politics, but statesmen who understand it. Though such leaders will be unable to eliminate power politics, they can at least try to eliminate its bad effects.

To most readers, Mr. Morgenthau's book will seem to be a discouraging one. All political activity, to him, is necessarily immoral. "To the degree in which the essence and aim of politics is power over man, politics is evil," he says. "There is no escape from the evil of power regardless of what one does. Whenever we act with reference to our fellow men, we must sin, and we must still sin when we refuse to act; for the refusal to be involved in the evil of action carries with it the breach of the obligation to do one's duty." The doctrine of original sin is no more inexorable than this.

If this conception of our political nature is too base, Mr. Morgenthau is at least able to see a kind of modest nobility in one way of meeting our problems. "To act successfully," he writes, "that is, according to the rules of the political art, is political wisdom. To know with despair that the political act is inevitably evil, and to act nevertheless, is

•MORROE BERGER is a lecturer on contemporary civilization at Columbia University. Mr. Berger has contributed to the volume of essays, *Frontiers of Jazz*, published in 1947, and to the *New York Herald Tribune*, *American Speech*, the *New Leader*, *Social Forces*, and to academic journals.

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moral courage. To choose among several expedient actions the least evil one is moral judgment." By combining these three processes, it is claimed, man reconciles his political with his moral character. But the adjustment is always an uncertain one, reflecting the "tragic contradictions of human existence."

Mr. Morgenthau knows that his book is not "constructive," but he scorns "neat and rational solutions" as the product of the liberal philosophy he is disputing. One feels, nevertheless, that his attempt to "picture the disease" of our time does not point even in the general direction of a cure. He is at his vaguest when he argues in favor of the method of "political decision" and against the use of "scientific devices" in international relations, for he fails to describe either the character of such a decision or how it is opposed to scientific method. Science, after all, in enabling us to judge what are the best means to achieve desired ends, does not require us to overlook the fact that we are not always scientific. To say that people are not rational is not to disprove the usefulness of reason in the attempt to understand them.

Many thinkers, from Aristotle to T. V. Smith, have supposed that compromise is preeminently the method of democratic politics, but Mr. Morgenthau rejects this technique as another of liberalism's errors. In a similar exclusion of all apparent alternatives, he denies economic liberalism's claim that social good results from individual actions that are not centrally planned, and then denies also the possibility of scientific planning for social change.

In his discussion of politics and ethics, Mr. Morgenthau makes the pertinent observation that political practice, however much it may value expediency over other principles of action, always tries to justify itself in ethical terms. As if to provide the example for the latter part of this text, we have a book waggishly titled, *You're the Boss*, by Edward J. Flynn, Democratic party boss of the Bronx, New York, for the last twenty-five years.

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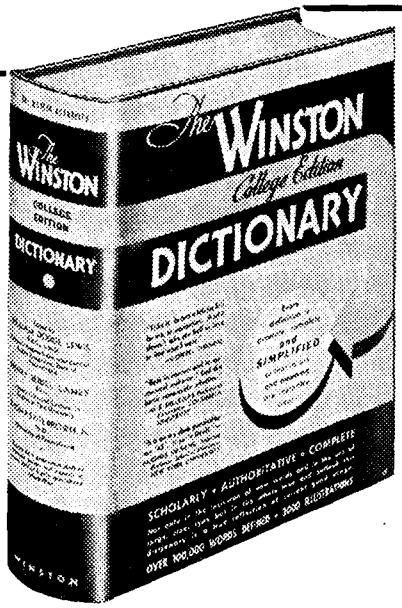

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them is happily suspended in Mr. Flynn's political autobiography. Frankly and calmly, he shows how his successful machine works and how he controls it: his party has not suffered defeat in the quarter-century of his leadership. Mr. Flynn is a modest and a moderate man. He makes no claim to power that he does not have; and he insists that the boss of a successful machine must serve the people or yield power to the boss of another machine.

It appears, then, that power flows from one machine to another. Mr. Flynn argues that the machine is indispensable to government. The boss of the Bronx is thus in agreement with the Italian school of political "realists," of whom Mosca and Michels are perhaps the best known in this country, who likewise insisted that rule by an organized minority is inevitable in a democracy. But Mr. Flynn, unlike these scholars, does not believe that this fact is detrimental to democracy, except when a "bad" machine is in power and goes too far in its disregard for the electorate.

Mr. Flynn's account shows that urban politics is a full-time job in America, a special industry like the manufacture of buttons or steel. Historically, the role of government in this country has been narrow, and the opportunities in its service limited. Most Americans have been preoccupied with economic pursuits. The result is that politics—the conduct of the affairs of the nation—has been left in the hands of extra-governmental specialists, to most of whom it is just another way to make a living.

Although Mr. Flynn is a boss, he does not like to be thought of as an immoral person. To Mr. Morgenthau, political action is the "paradigm and the prototype of all possible corruption," but Mr. Flynn does not think of his own actions in that way. He defends the spoils system, for example, as a legitimate fruit of electoral success, and asks (quite reasonably) why it is so violently attacked in government when it is so readily accepted in private business, where its social effects must be no less detrimental.

While Mr. Flynn seems at times to be unaware of the ethical implications of his

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comments about politics, T. D. Weldon, fellow at Oxford, writes with complete awareness of these relations. In his *States and Morals*, Mr. Weldon's aim (which he carries out cogently and in good prose) is to explain the political philosophies that underlie the present antagonism between the United States and Britain on one side, and the Soviet Union on the other. He shows, also, that at the root of these differing philosophies are differing moral views of the importance of individual man.

On politics and morals, Mr. Weldon's views are in sharp opposition to Mr. Morgenthau's. We have seen that the latter does not believe that the settlement of economic differences among nations seriously affects the settlement of the more crucial political differences. But Mr. Weldon, following a British tradition of moderation, insists precisely upon the value of seeking compromise on economic issues, which he considers secondary, rather than on more profound political (and hence moral) differences. He would like, for instance, to see Russia and the West negotiate not on matters of high political principle, but on those of less fundamental significance, so that neither side feels called upon to compromise its basic tenets.

In asking for a halt to the practice of elevating each economic dispute to the level of an "ideological controversy," Mr. Weldon underestimates the extraordinary "politicalization" of some countries. Recent events indicate that the Soviet Union, for example, rightly or wrongly, does not view any issue as devoid of political import. Mr. Morgenthau's skepticism concerning the efficacy of negotiation on economic issues appears warranted.

The division between Mr. Weldon and Mr. Morgenthau is equally sharp on the nature of power. Mr. Weldon distinguishes power from mere force by calling it "the control of force authorized by consent." For him, therefore, power is not, as it is for Mr. Morgenthau, unavoidably evil. Against Lord Acton too, Mr. Weldon insists: "To say that 'all power corrupts' is . . . nonsense. . . . Certainly it is possible to employ force very badly, but to renounce

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This is the first collection of the major essays of the great English historian to appear in many years, and the first collection of his work resulting from American scholarship. The material had been selected by Gertrude Himmelfarb, who, under a fellowship grant from the University of Chicago, spent a year at Cambridge University—working with the Acton papers on deposit there. Miss Himmelfarb has also written a long Introduction for this book. Included in the volume is the most complete Acton bibliography ever assembled. Chapters include:

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force completely is not to be good. It is to be non-existent."

What is suggested in *States and Morals* is that power is neutral between right and wrong. This separates ethical from political questions. (I am not sure that Mr. Weldon would accept this implication.) There is nevertheless good reason for distrusting power: we properly are suspicious of power that is not governed or directed by a higher value than its mere self-maintenance. We fear to entrust power to persons whose ambition for power is unharnessed by some other aim relating to social good. This viewpoint, however, is a political one, distinct from Lord Acton's (and now Mr. Morgenthau's) purely moral horror of power.

The relation between democracy and power is one of the themes of *Freedom and Order*, by Eduard Heimann, professor of economics at the New School for Social Research. Taking a position similar to Mr. Weldon's, Mr. Heimann asserts that "Democracy has no sound relationship to its own power." Deeply suspicious of power, democracy tends to abandon it too readily. When it does so, there are irresponsible groups and persons anxious to seize it for immoral ends.

Mr. Heimann's main aim is to examine the relations between freedom and order. Each is necessary for a free society, but the peril of democracy lies in the fact that while a nation cannot physically live without order, it can for long periods live without freedom. The problem is not to eliminate either pole, but to establish a proper equilibrium between them. The crisis of democracy, Mr. Heimann continues, lies in its emphasis upon freedom to the point where the claims of order have to be asserted by force: hence the authoritarian triumph in many countries.

Only a religious influence, the "Christian conscience," he believes, can balance freedom with order in both our political life and in social science. A belief in the brotherhood of man without a religious orientation is inadequate, because religion is the only root of spirituality.

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general agreement than are the earlier sections of the book. Religion has historically divided as well as united peoples; and, today, in our highly differentiated urban society, with the mingling of many ethnic and religious groups, the insistence upon the messianic character of one doctrine above others is probably not the kind of solution to which our social structure points.

The last book on our list is *The Cult of Power* by Rex Warner, the British novelist who is usually identified as a follower of Franz Kafka. This is a collection of essays, of which the first and title essay is the most pertinent to our subject. Mr. Warner argues, in agreement with Mr. Heimann, that totalitarianism is the result of unbridled individual freedom. Not content merely to insist that power corrupts, he traces the stages through which a popular leader passes to abject corruption. This may be taken as the counterpart, on the level of individual psychology, of Aristotle's famous political discussion of the "degeneration" of a kingdom into a tyranny, an aristocracy into an oligarchy, and a "polity" (or government by the poor in the interest of all) into a democracy (or government by the poor, but only for the poor).

To Mr. Warner, freedom is the source of both progress and corruption. It is only by permitting the individual to differ from the group that we can develop new ideals and new standards of behavior; yet the individual who is free to assert himself and become a mass leader ends by trying to enslave others. The individual is at once the "agent of change" and the "root of this whole cult of violence and power." In order to keep open the path to progress, therefore, Mr. Warner favors the maintenance of complete freedom of expression for individuals —no matter how far the state may go in its control over other realms of human activity. But he does not examine the question of how far the state can penetrate the life of the community without endangering the freedom he wants.

In an otherwise perceptive discussion of Dostoevsky, Mr. Warner fails to draw out the full meaning of the hero's disintegration in *Crime and Punishment*. As Dostoevsky

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emphasizes, a means will lead not only to the end upon which the actor's mind is momentarily focused, but to other ends as well. These unintended results of action (often not even foreseeable) may not only prove undesirable, but at times may actually prevent the realization of the "good" end. Thus the purpose of racial segregation may be the worthy one of reducing conflict, yet segregation produces in fact a variety of undesirable and (to be charitable) unintended effects—such as inferior opportunities and facilities for the minority group—and inevitably leads to more conflict anyway.

The books under review, all of which treat the subject with the respect due it, affirm the complexity of social living and the futility of insisting upon unfailing guides to conduct. The search for such guides, wrote Morris R. Cohen almost thirty years ago, is but "a chasing after the wind leading only to the overcrowded graveyard of human hopes." This philosopher, who defended the claims of science and suggested that even a science of ethics might one day be established, gave a noble place to the ethical aspirations of man:

"It is romantic foolishness to expect that man can by his own puny efforts make a heaven of earth. But to wear out our lives in the pursuit of worthy though imperfectly attainable ideals is the essence of human dignity."

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THE READER REPLIES

(*Continued from page 238*)

"The Atom and the Economy"

The article, "The Atom and the Economy," is an excellent appraisal of the present status of the possibility of deriving commercially useful power outputs from nuclear reactions, of the type which have thus far been run on a controlled, self-sustaining basis. Unfortunately these restrictions as to the validity of the author's conclusions may be ignored or not appreciated, and many readers will regard the statements as final and conclusive proof of the secondary importance of nuclear development.

The fission reactions utilized in present chain-reacting piles produce a host of radioactive fission products, and the escaping neutrons also activate parts of the shield, the moderator, etc. At least one possible but not yet controlled reaction, involving lithium, produces much less of by-products of this nature.

But the use of fission reactions may represent a stage in the early development of nuclear technology comparable to the galvanic pile and primary-cell days of electrical engineering. In fact, in one early edition of Ganot's *Physics*, electric power is dismissed as a commercial possibility because zinc in sulphuric acid cannot compete as a fuel with coal in a furnace.

We know that the stars do not run on fission, but on synthesis reactions. We do not know how to produce such reactions on a controllable self-sustaining basis just now. When we do, the author's conclusions in "The Atom and the Economy" will need many changes. Until we do, nuclear technology has only started. Fissionable materials as fuels are limited and exhaustible, like coal or oil, and so cannot form the basis of any long-term development.

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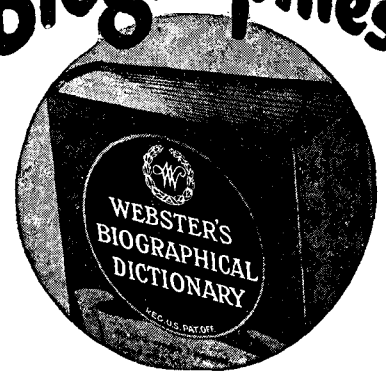

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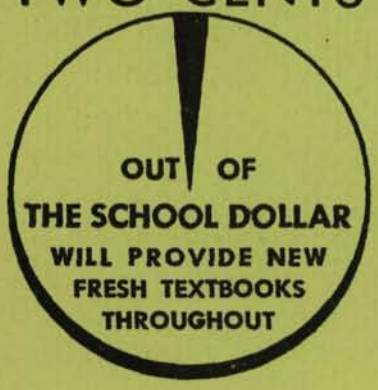

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